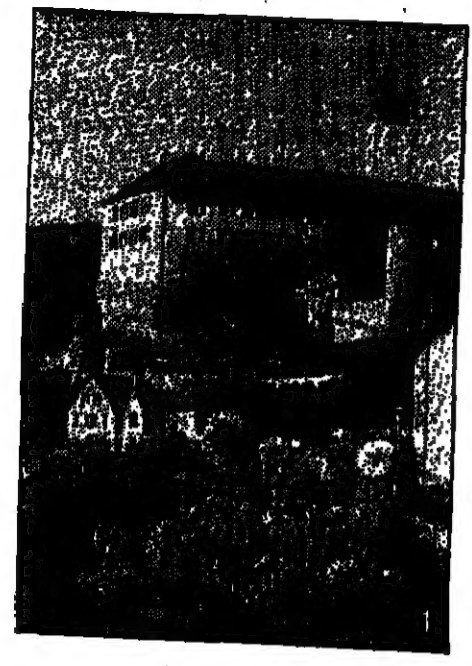


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Maintaining stability crux of Kohl's Moscow mission



Despite all the clashes and pitfalls in East-West ties, Bonn's hot line to Moscow has been in constant operation since the early-1970s. Throughout this period the Federal Republic of Germany has been the Russian favourite partner for talks with Western Europe.

It is a privilege that even deep-seated clashes of interest and lasting disagreements have failed to erode. Historical and geographic, security and economic policy considerations have gained a weight of their own and the groundwork for a working relationship both sides have found easy to maintain.

There has been a relationship of dialogue and cooperation that has benefited political stabilisation in Europe.

Bonn's contribution toward this relationship has consisted of being absolutely predictable in the foreign policy context and of abiding by the imperative that the Federal Republic must not account impose any extra burden on the West.

It put it more dramatically and to the Bonn Chancellor during his visit this month to Moscow: "Never must war break out from German hands."

Although the Moscow talks may have been the initial impression created by the meeting between Helmut Kohl and Yuri Andropov is that of a continued desire on both sides to expand, or at least not to jeopardise, what already been achieved in normal relations and cooperation.

Both the German Chancellor and the Soviet leader chose to continue in principle the policies devised and pursued by their predecessors.

Chancellor Kohl's deeper aim was to set out the prospects in this connection in what were the first talks between a Western leader and Mr Andropov as Kremlin leader.

He returned satisfied and reassured, though a general proviso remains that it apply to any judgement, no matter how tentative.

It is that no-one knows whether the change-over from Mr Brezhnev to Mr Andropov has been completed, politically speaking, or how long the new Soviet leader's health will enable him to continue in office.

Besides, Mr Andropov's remark that Soviet relations with Bonn will become more difficult if US medium-range missiles are stationed in Western Europe cannot simply be dismissed as a mere consideration.

Unavoidably the missile dispute at least entirely predominated the course

of talks. There is no ground for breathing a sigh of relief, nor one for upset, that no really new aspect came to light in this part of the talks.

Herr Kohl combined his viewpoint on missile modernisation with a call for greater Soviet readiness to compromise in Geneva.

Conversely, the Soviet leaders threatened Warsaw Pact counter-measures if the West were to go ahead and station new intermediate-range US missiles in Europe.

So far this has primarily been understood to mean the stationing of shorter-range Soviet missiles in Warsaw Pact states to the west of European Russia.

Bonn is not represented at the Geneva talks, but can its ties with Moscow develop regardless of the overall climate of East-West ties?

Experience has shown that all bids to strike a political balance between East and West depend on the general climate of international relations.

Political détente, experience has also shown, seems sure to mark time unless some progress is made in disarmament and arms control negotiations.

The impetus of military agreement is badly needed.

In Bonn's case one is bound to add that in the Brezhnev era Moscow invariably accepted the Federal Republic's unswerving membership of Nato and participation in Nato decisions as a constant feature of Bonn's foreign and security policies.

It seemed as though the Soviet interest in establishing cordial ties with Bonn was partly due to the expectation that Bonn would wield its weight and influence within the West on behalf of détente.

Whether Mr Andropov and the Soviet politbureau share Mr Brezhnev's assessment entirely will depend in part on the outcome of the Geneva talks.

It will also depend on whether negotiations on medium-range missiles can be carried on into the New Year despite a start having been made, as seems possible, on stationing the new missiles in Western Europe.

A temporary twofold Russian strategy cannot be ruled out.

It would consist on the one hand of quasi-sanctions on Bonn in the atmospheric sector up to and including inter-



Chancellor Kohl (left) in Moscow with Soviet leader Yuri Andropov. An interpreter is at Herr Kohl's left. (Photo: dpa)

mediating speeches reverting to Cold War terminology on account of German support for missile modernisation.

The other side of the coin would be tacit continuation of cooperation, especially economic cooperation, which is of substantial importance to the Soviet Union.

After a temporary decline, trade between Bonn and Moscow was up by 23 per cent in 1982.

Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff's visit to Moscow just before the Chancellor's was a pointer to keen Russian interest in boosting trade ties between the two countries.

At all events the general threat of missile modernisation overshadowing bilateral ties must not necessarily affect all aspects of cooperation.

It remains to be seen whether Moscow will use its control over East Berlin to impose a stranglehold on intra-German ties, in the event of political counter-measures, as it has often done in the past.

Herr Kohl really jumped over his own shadow in giving the go-ahead for the billion-deutschmark no-strings-attached loan to the GDR to avert or at least minimise this risk.

In doing so he cast to the winds his past principle that Bonn could not possibly make concessions without East Berlin making concessions in return.

Erich Honecker, the East German leader, badly needed this hard currency loan but would not, one is bound to add, have been able to take up the offer without prior approval being given by Moscow.

So Herr Kohl showed willingness to

improve ties both with the GDR and in the sense of his visit to Moscow, and he was applauded by all sides.

There can naturally be no such thing as a reliably predictable scenario for relations with the Soviet Union in the wake of missile modernisation.

But there must be no doubt that Bonn is determined to abide by the basic principles of its policy toward the Eastern bloc.

They are principles designed for long-term use and cannot be discontinued for repairs devised on a short-term basis in the wake of temporary setbacks.

Consistency and viewpoints designed to outlast the decade are focal points of Ostpolitik principles.

This was the line Helmut Schmidt chose to take in advocating a 25-year economic cooperation agreement with the Soviet Union during Mr Brezhnev's 1978 visit to Bonn.

It was designed to symbolise a policy of cooperation devised to be continued well into the future.

The Kohl government was right in January to agree, by a Bonn Cabinet decision, to renew for a further 10 years a number of cooperation agreements that were due to expire this year.

For both Herr Kohl and Mr Andropov their Moscow talks were more than an important opportunity of getting to know each other better.

For the Chancellor it was an outstanding opportunity to end all doubts lest the change that is his declared intention in any way relate to ties with the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe.

For domestic reasons Herr Kohl and many Christian Democrats feel reluctant to talk in terms of continuity after having so staunchly opposed the treaties with East Bloc countries a decade or so ago.

Yet in fact Herr Kohl has for years virtually ceased to attack the substance of his predecessor's foreign policy.

He strongly opposed Helmut Schmidt on matters of style, accusing him of taking part in what he felt was a deceptive defence and of having put to sleep a-

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...the desire to show

■ GERMANY

Mixed feelings as nuclear-free declarations spread to church, garden and creche

Some 50 municipalities in Germany have declared themselves nuclear-free zones. Nuclear-free schools have been declared. So have training facilities for apprentices, gardens, streets and churches.

It is all part of the peace issue which has become a major bone of contention in many local councils around the country.

Encroachment of the peace issue into town halls is regarded by some as communist infiltration and a weakening of the nation's defences.

Others see it as peace signals from the public at large, a symbolic action against the lunacy of the arms race.

One sceptic is former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. After the Hamburg borough of Eimsbüttel had declared itself nuclear-free, Schmidt suggested to councillors that they should send a city map to the Soviet Defence Ministry so the Russians would know where the border of neighbouring Harvestehude was.

Eimsbüttel's decision was forced through by Social Democrat and Green councillors. That is the normal pattern. Often, German Communist Party (DKP) councillors are involved.

Councils outside the big cities are mainly involved. The issue stands no chance in cities like Stuttgart or Frankfurt where the CDU holds a sound majority. A similar SPD motion in Bonn was turned down.

There is a widespread controversy, however, over whether such motions may be voted on at all in town councils. The Bonn Interior Ministry answers the question with a clear no and even goes so far as to say that this is the sort of thing that puts the nation's defences in jeopardy.

According to Parliamentary State Secretary Horst Waffenschmidt, resolutions to declare a city a nuclear-free zone amount to a "usurpation of authority in matters of defence policy, motivated by party politics and ideology." Such authority, he says, rests solely with the Bundestag and the Bonn Cabinet.

Waffenschmidt gets backing from Article 73 of the Constitution which gives the Federal government and the Bundestag the sole right to make decisions on defence matters.

Communists blamed

Spokesmen at CDU party headquarters stress that the SPD's drive to achieve at least propaganda successes should stop short of violating the Constitution.

The Bonn Interior Ministry under Friedrich Zimmermann puts the lion's share of the blame on the DKP which in its view masterminds the moves.

Though it is certain that the DKP has finger in the pie, the movement actually spilled over from Britain and was adopted in this country in the 1950s by the Easter Marchers and the Ban the Bombers.

The SPD leadership naturally sees it all in a different light.

Peter Glotz, the SPD's general secretary, interprets the movement as "signals from the citizens against a conti-



nuation of the lunacy of the arms race." As Glotz sees it, the municipalities have every right to take public fears into account and act accordingly.

At SPD headquarters, these initiatives are not seen as a substitute for concrete political measures to bring about disarmament but as helpful supporting moves.

Some SPD town councillors point to their party's Godesberg manifesto of 1959 which spoke of an inclusion "of the whole of Germany in a European zone of détente and controlled arms limitation. Such a peace zone would be cleared of foreign troops and nuclear weapons once Germany has been reunited in freedom."

The controversy concerns not only the political quality of such resolutions but also their legality.

This has once more focussed interest on the Constitutional Court ruling of 30 July 1958 in which the justices restricted

the authority of municipalities to local community affairs.

According to the ruling, a municipality would exceed its legal authority by "adopting resolutions on supra-regional and highly political issues."

But the ruling also says that a municipality can take action against any "concrete intention" to establish on its soil a military installation like "a launching device for nuclear warheads."

It is thus difficult to arrive at a clear-cut decision in the controversy. But a municipality would clearly be in breach of the Constitution if it declared itself an absolutely nuclear-free zone and tried to implement this with all available means.

In North Rhine-Westphalia, the legal position, which is complicated to start with, was complicated still further by a decree issued by State Interior Minister Herbert Schnoor (SPD).

Last December, Schnoor decreed that municipalities commenting on defence matters exceed their authority.

But, according to his ambiguous directive, there is no need for supervisory

authorities to intervene in because municipal decisions have no effect in law.

Schnoor overlooks the fact that the chief administrator of a municipality has the right to oppose a decision.

If the council decides to take a decision, the administrator has the final decision by the supervisory authority.

North Rhine-Westphalia's minister, Johannes Rau (SPD), has decided to declare a nuclear-free zone illegal but as understandable that towns might want to discuss the issue and drill.

The discussion over nuclear-free zones has been in progress since the mid-1950s. It is closely linked with names as Adam Rapacki, Lech Kennan, Herbert Wehner, Khrushchev, Urho Kekkonen, Olof Palme. All of them have been nuclear-free zones several metres wide.

Today's municipal initiatives contain themselves within ten metres. The idea is not that would one day cover a nation.

They attach little importance to legal and legal aspects as the issue is a focal point of discussion. (General-Anzeiger Bonn)

DEFENCE

Simulator training in all three services means war practice without casualties



struction they are then sent back to their regular units.

A conventional course of training on board a Leopard tank costs about DM20,400 per head. A course including simulator training cuts costs to only DM7,600.

The Bundeswehr has run four such simulator centres since 1977, saving roughly DM72m a year in training costs and DM2.1m in fuel.

These figures are for the Leopard Mk 1. The Defence Ministry is confident that simulator training for the Mk 2 will cut costs correspondingly.

Conventional training to drive the Leopard 2 costs DM54,000 per man, but simulators have yet to be taken into service.

Bundeswehr helicopter pilots-to-be in Bückeburg are put through their paces indoors in simulated cockpits of Bell UH-1D choppers.

The simulators are housed in a hangar, so "flights" are not affected by the weather. There are no accidents either, and little or no noise.

The cockpits are shaken hydraulically to simulate turbulence. Artificial lighting illuminates the darkened cockpit.

thousands of school-leavers soon to be conscripts can have little idea of training facilities are available in the modern armed forces.

Electronic simulators are increasingly used by the Bundeswehr, and manning a simulator or a mock-up of an aircraft cockpit is a far cry from parade-march and drill.

It saves money, prevents accidents and does much less damage to the environment than the real thing.

The soldier's face is bathed in sweat as he plunges through the forest. It is a quagmire. Were it not for thick trunks in the soil the tank would sink itself to a standstill. It tosses and makes slow headway.

Suddenly the soldier loses control of the 40-ton tank. It rams a tree, leaves tracks and grinds to a halt in the mud.

It is not so easy for a learner-driver to learn how to drive a tank with a Coy in Augustdorf. The soldier sits out of his seat, gingerly feels the brakes and breathes a sigh of relief.

In a real life he could well have written the tank, not to mention himself. In a few cuts and bruises.

Simulators were first used by the Bundeswehr and the Bundesmarine but have long been part of the Bundeswehr's training facilities too.

Their role is outlined by Lt-Gen. Gerhart Wachter, 54, commanding officer of the 110 000 men of 1 Corps stationed in Hamburg, Bremen, Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein and North Rhine-Westphalia.

"Simulators," he says, "are there to help the men to stay physically, mentally and technically fit to cope with an agency we hope will never happen."

Computers and simulators also contribute toward cutting arms costs and the lever of environmental pollution and contamination by the Bundeswehr.

Simulators are driven indoors, startlingly natural landscapes on television screens.

Helicopter pilots in a simulator cockpit negotiate turbulence and fire laser beams at a cinema screen inside an air hangar.

Simulator training is strikingly realistic in all three services, but it can only substitute for just over half the field practice the men have to put

so, it saves time, effort and money. In Augustdorf alone over 1,400 young men hold no more than a one-day licence take 10-day courses including time at the controls of the Leopard tank simulator before taking the test as tank drivers.

They spend an eight-hour day at the controls in the lurid simulator cockpit, trying to control their tanks in the simulation flashed on to the screen.

They are taught to handle intermittent bursts such as engine fires, plummeting oil pressures, faulty brakes and so on.

They then spend 16 hours watching fellow-learners manage at the moment on screen and are given four hours of practical training on board a real tank in the open country.

After theory and maintenance in-

For fighter pilots, The Thing brings the dogfight to life

Green and red aircraft zig-zag across the monitor screen. Atmospheric effects are heard over the loudspeaker. A voice croaks: "Porsche One. There's a bandit to your rear. 15 miles."

The warning comes too late. The red aircraft is the bandit and has already aimed and fired a yellow arrow on the screen.

Lightning indicates a hit. The word "kill" appears and a coffin lid lights up. "Dead" it proclaims, adding the name of the green aircraft's pilot.

The man in front of the monitor screen presses a button. We now share the view from the cockpit of the red aircraft, an F 5 interceptor.

On the horizon the outline of a green Phantom jet can be made out. It too is the target of a yellow missile. But the message on the screen is "no kill." The target was out of range.

In a video war games parlour this is the point at which you would have to put another pin the slot for a further five minutes of aggression.

But the aerial dogfight seen on this monitor screen is actually in progress. The aircraft are airborne; only the missiles and the firing are computer-simulated.

Forty-five seconds after being knocked out on the screen the dead come back to life and return to the fray. The action is taking place over the Mediterranean west of Sardinia.

There are times when fighter pilots

Hail seems to be drumming on the helicopter roof.

The trainee pilot curses under his breath on noticing from his instruments that he has engine trouble. He is having trouble enough as it is keeping the 'copter on course in heavy side winds.

Simulator training costs DM179 per hour. Airborne training logging bona fide flight hours on board a helicopter costs DM1,243 per hour.

Over the past eight years about 79,000 flight hours have been simulated in Bückeburg, so the saving is DM60m or so.

So the simulator, including its computer, has paid for itself six times over.

A similar facility is in operation at an army airfield near Celle where Bo 105 P anti-tank helicopter pilots learn how to use their DM30,000 Hot guided missiles.

Radio and telecom mechanics and electronics specialists have put together target and firing evaluation systems for a mere DM300 each using conventional parts.

A dirty pane of glass is kept rotating by a barbecue grill motor, simulating flight movement even though the 'copter is stationary in its hangar.

Another helicopter anti-tank training system using moving targets projected on to a screen landscape is more expensive. It cost DM200,000.

Firing is laser-simulated, which makes it independent of the weather, noiseless, accurate and harmless in that no-one can be injured by mistake.

Since 1981 these devices have cut training costs by roughly DM3.6m, including 3,000 flight hours at DM1,200 each.

Ammunition costs nothing at all. It is all done by electronics.

Anti-aircraft specialists are not to be outdone when it comes to cutting costs in this way. Ammunition is expensive and missiles can hardly be fired for practice.

So a few computers and monitor screens that simulate what the pundits call a defence situation provide an opportunity of checking how anti-aircraft and ground-to-air missile batteries would fare in practice.

11 Anti-Aircraft Regt in Achim, near Bremen, is equipped with Gepard (Cheetah) flak tanks that cost a small fortune.

But gunners learn by simulator how to handle their radar-controlled weapon system and fire guns and missiles at electronic targets.

This saves fuel. It also saves the cost of sending up aircraft as targets, which is DM4,000 per hour.

Simulators and electronic training aids are by no means inexpensive. They are complicated too. But General Wachter sees them as a means of keeping his men well-trained despite sky-rocketing costs.

They also keep wear and tear of arms and equipment down to a minimum. "Cash is in short supply," he says, "and there is unlikely to be so much more of it around in future."

Klaus Wittkamp
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 June 1983)

pilots of danger seen on a conventional radar screen.

His job is also to ensure that no-one inadvertently leaves the exercise area, which is out of bounds to civil aviation.

The man who presses the buttons at the monitor is an experienced flying instructor who debriefs pilots, gives tactical advice and points out mistakes.

Pilots can no longer tell tall stories. The tapes are there to show at speed or in slow motion just where they went wrong.

Every enemy plane knocked out can be proved to have been a bona fide hit, just as it can be seen after the event when a kill could have been made.

The cost of the US-made installation has been shared by the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and Italy.

Sardinia has the best manoeuvre facilities in Europe. Where in Germany could supersonic fighters swoop and fight it out at 2,000 metres?

It is not just that thousands of window panes would be shattered by supersonic bangs. Civil aviation would be impossible too.

There is more space over the Mediterranean, and the weather is good nearly all the year round as well.

So the Luftwaffe has transferred most of its fighter training to Decimomannu. The aggressor squadron of American F 5 fighters is a special feature of the training.

The F 5s are similar in performance to MiG 21s and their pilots are trained in East Bloc tactics. Their aircraft even have Warsaw Pact camouflage.

American love of detail does not stop at this point. A red star adorns the helmets of bandit crews.

A. Szandar
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 July 1983)

■ THE THIRD WORLD

Lots of words exchanged at Belgrade conference



The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) in Belgrade was a depressing spectacle. The 4,000 delegates from 160 countries started off by wading four weeks on a huge palaver about the world economy and development in the Third World.

For much of the time, the conference dealt only with itself. It produced tons of documents. The developing countries forming the Group of 77, the Western industrial nations and the East Bloc, (the last group has entered into no commitments whatsoever) talked at cross-purposes.

The conference eventually shifted into high gear just before it was supposed to end. Chaos ensued. And since the conference had to be extended, it became more expensive than originally planned.

In the end, a couple of dozen resolutions had to serve as an alibi. But they cannot gloss over the fact that the conference was a failure.

Like the previous meeting in Manila, the Belgrade conference was doomed to failure because such a large and long-winded event cannot deal with the vital problems of the world-wide economic slump, the disrupted development in the Third World and the excessive indebtedness of developing countries.

There was even a shortage of useful suggestions that could have enlivened the debate on revitalising the world economy. Resolutions are of no use to the people in the Third World. They relieve none of the hardship.

The marathon session in Belgrade has once more shown that such conferences cannot achieve much.

There should have been less friction at Belgrade than at previous Unctad conferences. This time, the Group of 77 did not enter the conference blaming the rich industrial nations for Third World woes.

"Revitalisation and development" was the original motto under which industrial and developing countries were to discuss joint measures to prevent the decline of individual countries and the world economy as a whole.

But then the Group of 77 once more came forward with a whole bundle of previously drafted resolutions that boiled down to the old demand for more payments by the industrial nations and for a New International Economic Order that would provide for a more equitable international division of labour and monetary system — all this to be achieved by central control mechanisms.

To overcome the crisis, the Third World nations demanded an immediate programme involving a minimum of \$90bn.

There can be no doubt that the hard-pressed countries of the Third World need assistance from the industrial world — now more than ever before. Despite their own financial problems, the industrial nations must therefore not discontinue their development aid.

Bonn's 1984 budget takes this into account.

It has increased the development aid budget by more than average for the entire budget.

The industrial nations must also continue to lend a helping hand to the poorest of developing nations in emergency cases or when they find themselves unable to service their debts.

The West will continue to try to increase its financial aid to the Third World, as promised in Belgrade.

But it must reject the huge and costly programmes demanded by the Group of 77, which it did in Belgrade.

The purse strings will remain tight — and not only because the coffers are empty. Aid donors cannot help doubting whether the rescue projects proposed by the developing countries would really do any good.

It would have been unreasonable in Belgrade to expect of countries whose economic systems are based on free enterprise to agree to the economic recipes of countries with systems that are diametrically opposed to free enterprise.

The wrong approach in the concept of the Group of 77 boils down to the fact that these Third World nations want to solve global economic problems with global measures and that they insist on alleviating Third World problems with global measures and that they insist on alleviating Third World problems primarily with more money.

The measures demanded by them are not only costly but must also accelerate inflation.

The Group of 77 delegates make the same mistake as Willy Brandt's North-South Commission.

What Unctad is

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) is a permanent body of the UN General Assembly with seat in Geneva. It is financed from the UN budget and its members comprise all member-nations of the UN and its agencies.

Unctad is administered by a Secretariat.

Its function is to promote world trade and economic development in the Third World.

Its main aims are to overcome the North-South gap through more development aid, to achieve stable commodity prices and to obtain preferential trade and tariff status from the industrial world.

Unctad has tediously been trying to get closer to achieving these aims from one conference to the next. The conferences are held about every four years.

One reason for the failure so far is probably the division of Unctad into blocs of states.

Apart from the countries with free enterprise systems, there are the planned economy states and the Group of 77, which includes 125 developing countries.

The main issues in Belgrade were the stabilisation of commodity prices and export earnings in the developing countries and growing protectionism.

(Mannheimer Morgen, 2 July 1983)

Cash for the Third World

Public sector aid (1982) in billions of dollars



As the Economic Affairs Ministry Advisory Council puts it: "They are absolutely convinced that international organisations can come up with and administer global solutions."

But there are no such patent recipes. Difficulties in the developing countries cannot be solved globally. They must be solved country by country and step by step. Moreover, more development aid does not guarantee development.

According to the Advisory Council, the effect of additional capital on development depends on framework conditions in the developing country concerned and, above all, on its economic policy.

Rarely are the Third World delegations to Unctad reminded of the fact that the basic preconditions for economic and social development must be created by the developing countries themselves. Obstacles to development must be removed for aid to become effective.

The industrial nations attending the Belgrade conference should have been more united and more unequivocal in making it clear that they are prepared to promote development processes from outside.

Of the Western nations, only the European Community was properly prepared for the Belgrade meeting.

For example the European suggestion to extend the system of stabilising commodity earnings that now applies to the signatories of the Lomé Convention to a number of other developing countries failed to meet with US and Canadian support in Belgrade.

Instead of promoting this commodity earnings stabilisation, the West reaffirmed the wrong decisions of former Unctad meetings whereby price stabilisation would be achieved through a common fund within the framework of raw materials agreements.

The most important omission of Unctad VI was to have failed to urge more liberalisation in the trade between industrial and developing countries.

Though the industrial countries undertook to stop protectionism and to systematically remove trade barriers, this is no more than a declaration of intent.

Deeds must follow within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The best and cheapest development aid would be to buy more Third World goods.

Klaus Broichhausen
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
fr. Deutschland, 5 July 1983)

Bonn steps development aid allocation



Bonn has increased the aid for development aid by 1.5 per cent. The 1984 allocation draft budget figures will be 3.2 billion marks, up from 3.0 billion marks in 1983, says the Economic Affairs Minister.

The medium-term fiscal plan provides for modest increases between 2.8 and three per cent in development aid, which is expected to rise by between 3.3 and 3.7 per cent.

But even this fairly generous increase cannot solve the development aid problems. This is made clear by the Ministry's budget for 1984. The ten per cent annual increase in 1970s. Now earlier commitments to be met with increases of only four per cent.

This has to do with a peculiar development budget has been set with the transport budget as a model. The transport budget is a drain off all the money set aside for them.

Depending on progress on the project, actual payments can vary between five and ten years.

Conversely, this means that Bonn government (as was the case in the 1970s) wanted to boost its development aid by an average ten per cent a year, it would have to ensure that there are sufficient funds that would provide for a use of the taxpayer's money.

For that reason, the previous government's commitments to Third World countries stand at about 3.0 billion marks, which is still to be honoured.

As long as the cash outflow pace (with a time lag) with new commitments there will be no difficulties.

Warneke's problem lies in the fact that his budget was boosted by 1.5 per cent and that he can therefore not honour previous commitments by laying their completion.

As a result, projects have to be delayed.

Continued on page 7

THE ECONOMY

Murmurings in the ranks over steps to get things going again

Business circles are becoming impatient. They want the government, which has now been in office for more than 100 days, to speed up measures to get the economy going again.

It is still trying to reduce spending and provide tax relief for business, industry wants campaign promises delivered.

Measures and growth promotion would only be successful if they really amounted to sweeping away favouring private incomes, warm-business representative, Otto Wolff Amerongen, head of DIHT, the standing council of chambers of commerce and industry.

Spokesman for small and medium businessmen said: "There can be nothing away from the fact that the government has given way to a certain disillusionment. Businessmen had different ideas about the vaunted change: thought that the economy was on a vertical take-off."

The Bonn government must take blame for these expectations. Opinion was very handy as an election slogan, those who listened have heard the warnings against excessive expectations.

There is much to indicate that the point is still ahead of us. We don't see any positive effects of our production before the second half of 1983, says Chancellor Helmut Kohl in his last policy statement last October. When it was still easy to blame problems on the previous government.

There was a period of growing optimism that the economy might, after all, be on the way to recovery.

The government planned hopes on "creating more jobs" and new economic growth and on solving the state's fiscal problems.

Economic Affairs Minister Lambsdorff put it. "The state, he said, must cut spending to reduce the deficit to provide business with more money for investment. But rates must go down."

Psychological effects were taken into account from the very beginning. "We had our hopes on the psychological effect that a sound fiscal policy would have on investors," said Lambsdorff on occasion, taking a swipe at the previous government.

Just about all branches of business are worried by the decline in orders from abroad. March and April showed a drop of eight per cent against the same period last year.

Though there is a clear upward trend in the United States, the economies of Germany's major trading partners in Europe are still ailing; and the Opec countries, which have always been important customers, have run out of money.

Count Lambsdorff put the business mood in a nutshell when he said: "This time, the impetus won't be coming from abroad."

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from 13 to 14 per cent) to enable the government to pay for the promised tax relief for business. Withholdings on Christmas bonuses and holiday allowances for employees will be increased from next year.

The government's intention to reduce tax for business along with reducing government debt is at the moment no more than a blueprint. But Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg has guaranteed this and the public trusts him to deliver.

The government plan did not provide for setbacks and there were none originally. The general mood of business was good, planning permissions for new construction were increasing and interest rates were dropping.

Even GNP rose slightly in the first quarter of this year, at least compared with the last quarter of 1982. And in late April Stoltenberg said he could see the first encouraging signs.

But he was not to know that the upward trend was ending.

The Ifo Economic Research Institute found in its regular opinion surveys in the business community that "the improvement of the business atmosphere in evidence since last autumn is not continuing."

Production plans for the next three months show no growth impetus, the Institute says.

There are still showpiece branches of industry like the motor industry and construction orders (construction receives massive government support) for housing showed a 14 per cent increase over the end of last year.

But even so, industry as a whole expects continued stagnation. The gains in housing construction have been lost in other branches of construction because local authorities don't have enough money.

Just about all branches of business are worried by the decline in orders from abroad. March and April showed a drop of eight per cent against the same period last year.

Though there is a clear upward trend in the United States, the economies of Germany's major trading partners in Europe are still ailing; and the Opec countries, which have always been important customers, have run out of money.

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At home, the woes of steel and shipbuilding are only part of the story.

According to the Federal Statistics Office, the tide of bankruptcies (which the conservatives while still in the opposition used as a symbol for the failure of the Schmidt-Genscher government) is unbroken. There were 5,713 from January until the end of April, 14.7 per cent more than in the same period of 1982.

Optimism over the immediate and more distant future is waning, particularly over investment at home.

According to the Bundesbank, there was a rapid outflow of capital in April (DM3.6bn of long-term and DM4.3bn of short-term money).

The balance of payments in the first quarter of this year was deep in the red. And it comes as no surprise that interest rates are rising again, largely because the Finance Ministry had to borrow massively to raise money for commitments.

There are few certainties. Economic pundits both in and outside government say that though the economic position is still worse than it was a year ago, it is better than it was at the end of last year. The Bundesbank has also been trying to dispel the increasing doubts again.

Experts are now anxiously waiting to find out whether the April decline was just a passing phenomenon. For the government, much will depend on the answer.

The Finance Minister's budgetary ideas can only work if a marked upturn sets in as early as this autumn. If not, new gaps in the budget will have to be closed. And that would mean that Stoltenberg would have to tackle the reduction of business subsidies in earnest.

The CDU and CSU election platform clearly stated that "subsidies will be reduced along with providing tax relief for business."

So far, there has been no action other than the announcement of a review of tax deductions for losses and the so-called *Bauherrnmodell* for new construction.

There is not much more scope for reducing the welfare budget because unemployment benefits and social security pensions have already been slashed under existing plans.

Bonn's finance, economic affairs and labour ministers say only higher social security contributions by employer and employee and pension cutbacks to be implemented by 1987 could save just under DM30bn.

The economising measures have not yet been completed. When they began, the Labour Minister said that "the shunting yard in social policy is being dismantled."

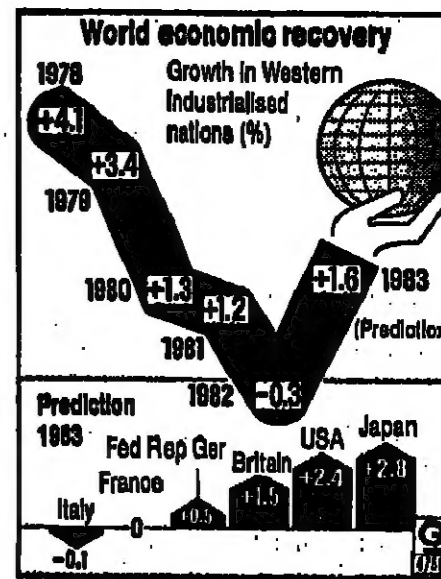
But before this could happen the Bonn government started shunting billions from the unemployment fund to the pensions fund and from there to the national health system.

The Labour Ministry said that these were individual measures that would eventually fit into the future overall concept.

It has meanwhile become obvious that the original good resolutions (Labour Minister Blum: "We did not want to pursue a haphazard, social policy. What we're doing is a common-sense social policy on a long term basis")

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could not be upheld in their original form.

Blum had a tough time preventing the Chancellor and the conservatives as a whole from breaking their campaign promise that there would be no postponement in the pensions increase scheduled for 1984.

And only a short while ago — after much haggling — the government temporarily shelved plans to raise the early retirement age for women from 60 to 63.

Blum's political destiny does not primarily depend on the revitalisation of the pensions fund but also on the fight against unemployment.

The greater the doubts about an economic upturn, the more important it becomes to introduce additional job-creating measures.

The government, above all the labour minister, want capital participation on the part of employees to boost the liquidity of businesses. They also want legislation that would allow older workers to retire voluntarily at the age of 58.

But both measures can only be effective if they are sweeping implemented. This would require the cooperation of the trade unions because both capital participation and early retirement would have to be paid for with reduced wage demands.

And this can only be achieved if the unions are given a say about the use of the money accumulated by capital participation and if they were given guarantees that every job vacated by an elderly worker would be filled again.

Blum is well aware of this. He has said regarding capital participation that nothing would be done without the unions.

But other Cabinet members disagree. They do not want any additional union rights. This applies not only to Finance Minister Stoltenberg but also to Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff.

Lambsdorff, a liberal, is the actual opponent of Blum. In fact, he is the moving spirit in the new coalition.

Anybody looking for a programme of the centre-right government only needs to refer to the so-called Lambsdorff Paper that was commissioned by Helmut Schmidt and that ushered in the end of the old coalition in September 1982.

Most of Lambsdorff's demands, which were then rejected by the CDU/CSU, have meanwhile been implemented: cutbacks in the pay for civil servants, fewer unemployment benefits for single people, reduced corporate and capital taxes, cutbacks in disability pensions and social welfare.

Lambsdorff is quite satisfied with the effects of these measures despite occasional setbacks.

He says wryly: "If necessary, I can present another paper."

Wolfgang Mauersberg
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 June 1983)

PERSPECTIVE

Could the jig-saw puzzle of divided continent have been different?

What might have happened if the wartime alliance against Nazi Germany had not broken up after World War II?

Would Germany have continued to exist within its 1937 frontiers? Or would the Allies have gone ahead with plans to divide Germany into several smaller states?

What would have been the consequences if the Western powers had not started to merge their zones from summer 1946? — thereby taking the crucial step in the direction of setting up a Western Germany.

What would have happened if the Soviet Union had not used the leeway London and Washington generally allowed it in Eastern Europe to pursue strict policies designed to safeguard its sphere of influence?

What if Moscow had accepted the Marshall Plan for economic reconstruction in Europe or won the 1948 Berlin blockade?

Might a lasting division of Germany have been averted if Adenauer and the Western Allies had responded positively to Moscow's 1952 offer of reunification?

Stimulating and indispensable though questions such as these may be in sounding out different interests and leeways, research into recent history cannot be limited to speculation.

The US government opened its post-war archives to historians in the late-1960s. Britain and France have now followed suit. So there is ample incentive for historians to delve deep into source material and find out what really happened.

The German Historical Institute, London, has hosted a gathering of British, French, Austrian, US and German historians to discuss and compare their findings on the role and importance of Germany in post-war Allied policies.

As the institute's head Wolfgang J. Mommsen, stressed, that the conference aimed mainly at clarifying the different foreign and German policy concepts and leeways of the respective Allied powers.

Reparations

Case studies were also to be reviewed in respect of the problems encountered in feeding and maintaining supplies to the German civilian population.

Other issues for debate included the Ruhr and reparations, the working of the Allied Control Council, the 1948 Berlin crisis and Allied willingness to jointly administer Germany.

In a third and final section of the proceedings the options open to the Germans themselves, their attitude toward the progressive division of the country and their role in the East-West conflict were discussed.

Discussion about the division of Germany was bound to give rise to the question of who was to blame.

Who was it? The Russians, the Americans, the British, the French or the Germans themselves?

The course of the conference showed that a snap answer to this question is impossible.



Laying the blame solely at the Soviet Union's door is as inappropriate as the historical facts as are judgments that neglect to balance cause and effect and spend so much time on the post-war period that they lose sight of the Third Reich era.

This was a point clearly outlined in the opening address by Tübingen political scientist Theodor Eschenburg.

An important finding by the London conference was that the Americans, especially General Clay, were strongly in favour of restoring German unity until the beginning of 1948.

The Russians were interested in keeping German united until even later, whereas recent research into British policy, by Rolf Steininger and others,

In his memorable speech to the League of Nations on 5 September 1929 the French Foreign Minister, Aristide Briand, solemnly called for the establishment of a United States of Europe.

Since the Second World War we have come by two Europes, the Europe of 10, or EEC, and the Europe of 21, or Council of Europe, with all manner of committees to provide back-up.

Could they be the reason why nothing more might be heard of the idea? This gloomy forecast occurred at the latest Aspen Institute conference on Europe.

The conference, in West Berlin, was attended by experts in politics, economics and the arts from both Europe and the United States.

They agreed, on the need to maintain and extend the degree of European integration already achieved, regardless what Euro-pessimists might think.

The pessimists, it was felt, would not realise how important this modicum of uniformity had been until it no longer existed.

That is not to set aside the dream of a maximum that one would like to achieve one day.

People came to Berlin for the conference from the hard bargaining of everyday Europe in Strasbourg or Brussels and from Washington too.

They welcomed the opportunity of swapping hints on how to get on with each other and subterfuges designed to make the Europeans come to terms despite diverging interests.

The aim was not to review yet again issues disputed within the EEC but to engage in what might be termed political psychology.

The first fling of the European idea was over, it was agreed. How might the fires be rekindled? Possibly by calling historic examples to mind, suggested an Italian journalist, Signor Barzini.

Bismarck had united the German Reich by means of wars with outside powers. Could Europe possibly be galvanised into solidarity by a military threat from without?

An economic crisis was the second subterfuge of history Signor Barzini envisaged as accelerating European integration. But we are in the throes of one

has shown that the Foreign Office seriously considered the setting up of a West Germany from the first half of 1946.

Britain seriously set about partition along these lines from that summer, whereas the French felt dividing Germany into two states without adequate economic, political and military controls went too far.

This point was put by Raimond Poidevin and Alan S. Milward, but the merger of the US and British zones into Bizonia was in effect the crucial move toward division of the country.

How did the Germans feel about it? According to Manfred Overesch the political decision-makers, such as the Prime Ministers of the *Länder*, showed few signs of fuelling discussion of the national question.

They, like the Allies, did not give priority to the restoration of national unity.

How others see the German mentality

right now, and it seems to have the opposite effect.

Might the defence of European culture and civilisation provide sufficient momentum to speed the pace of integration?

By calling to mind our common European heritage and the many tasks it entails for the future we might well best be able to foster a European identity.

What was more, it would be based on openness rather than demarcation, especially toward eastern central Europe. But, as a leading Goethe Institute official put it:

"To build Europe is to allow entirely different cultures from our own guest status."

The Genscher-Colombo plan envisages entrusting the European Community with new powers in the cultural sector extending beyond the purview of the Treaty of Rome.

Bonn government officials with responsibility for European affairs noted in Berlin that the Genscher-Colombo plan had prompted an appraisal in non-EEC member-countries of the Council of Europe.

There had even been initial moves in the direction of a wider "cultural" Europe.

Why ought Europeans not to ride different hobby-horses in their progress toward a united Europe? Scandinavian participants at the Berlin conference promptly objected to too much regimentation.

Europe's variety and regional spontaneity were its capital. They ought to be protected from too many regulations.

But what if Europeans were tired of Europe, disappointed by the slow progress in Brussels and Strasbourg?

A French planning official said that 80 per cent of his fellow-countrymen had said in a recent survey that they were in favour of economic protectionism.

Konrad Adenauer shared the Western powers' view that reunification of Germany that was not first agreed in the West entailed a risk given Soviet predominance.

When it came to discussing the effects of the Korean War as a harbinger of the Federal Republic, it was rightly asked whether it was still open to change.

Once the pro-Western orientation of Western Germany was largely both economically and politically, military option was decided of full integration in the West.

Thus the Korean War was a key event in the newly-founded Republic's progress toward reunification as a member of the West.

Even if the Soviet offer of reunification made in March 1952 had seriously meant it would have departed from the course agreed in the West.

In the circumstances this might have been the Western side of the Chancellor Adenauer were to accept.

Josef F. (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)

What was worse, French would sooner invest in the West than in Germany, a Franco-German consultant said.

Special agreements between the European countries and the United States undermined European unity in fact about 12 times further away from Earth than the Moon.

This was particularly true of the lobbying in Washington by the United States.

The most forthright came from the US State Department, which said that relations with the European countries must be the touchstone for European unity.

In view of the challenge posed by the United States and the Soviet Union, European countries could look further than their regional ties and appreciate their common interests.

They could learn to reach beyond them by account for most on, say, a common technology instead of looking idly while the Japanese share the European market for microelectronics.

Europe must become the subject of history, not its object. It must look from its dependence on others outward-looking view and responsibility.

Europe could well play a role in Third World countries, where near the Earth, which was a stroke of good luck.

European participants were particularly attentive as US speaker took toward Europe to encourage Europeans to join forces and share self-confidence.

Europe, they were told, was taken seriously on the other side of the Atlantic once it had learned to speak with one voice.

As the process of political making was increasingly decentralised in the United States, with the West gaining increasing geographic and economic importance, Europeans could no longer maintain their traditional dialogue with Americans on the eastern seaboard and their radiation is extremely

computer needed special adjustment to track of the whiz-kid comet.

Previous attempts to observe comets with radioastronomical observatories had proved mainly unsuccessful. Most bids failed because comets usually steer a wide berth of Earth and their radiation is extremely

Irmla (Der Tagesspiegel)

SPACE RESEARCH

Scientists hold breath over amazing comet discovery



German astronomers have proved for the first time that ammonia, a combining hydrogen and nitrogen, is on another heavenly body, a comet.

Ammonia is considered to be the most abundant of the chemical elements identified in interstellar space. It is the basic components of protoplanets and of life itself.

The discovery was made by scientists at the Max Planck Institute of Radioastronomy, Bonn, in mid-May.

They were tracking the Iras Araki Alcock comet from the 100-metre radio-telescope at Effelsberg, near Bonn, as it sped within 4.7 million kilometres (2.9 million miles) of the Earth.

Tracking the comet at a wavelength of 3 centimetres they also identified ammonia on the surface of the comet.

A comet has not for a long time been so close to the Earth. On 11 May the tongue-twister passed within 0.032 astronomical units of our planet.

An astronomical unit is the mean distance between the Earth and the Sun, or 149.6 million kilometres. So the comet was in fact about 12 times further away from Earth than the Moon.

This was the first comet to be discovered by a research satellite, which was the first comet to be discovered by a research satellite, which was the first comet to be discovered by a research satellite.

It was discovered on 25 April by the Iras, an American-Dutch satellite. It has systematically probed invisible heat (infra-red radiation) in space.

It was launched on 25 January and is to be used to make the first map of the entire sky in this radiation sector. A few days after Iras saw the satellite Japanese amateur astronomer, Araki, discovered the comet in separate sightings.

Between them they account for most on, say, a common technology instead of looking idly while the Japanese share the European market for microelectronics.

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To keep track of 1983 d the radio-telescope's operating schedule, which is prearranged weeks in advance, was changed at short notice.

On 11 and 12 May staff were able to observe the comet in the 1.3cm wave-band at which wavelength in theory the radiation of three spectroscopic lines of the ammonia molecule and one of the water molecule was expected to occur.

As in visible light the chemical elements advertise their presence in the radio wave spectrum by characteristic features of radiation emitted or received.

By means of the radioastronomically measured lines or combinations of lines astronomers can identify with a fair degree of certainty the presence of specific atoms or molecules.

The detailed structure of these lines also reveals information about physical phenomena, such as pressure or temperature, of the matter emitting or receiving radiation.

Using this method, molecular spectroscopy, radioastronomers have identified over 50 chemical compounds, often of some complexity, in the minute traces of gas between the stars.

Ammonia incidentally was the first molecule consisting of several atoms to be identified in this way: by the US Nobel laureate Charles Hard Townes in 1968.

Using molecular spectroscopic techniques the Max Planck radioastronomers aimed their instrument, the world's largest mobile radiotelescope, at Iras Araki Alcock.

Readings were hampered by cloud and rain, so the scientists checked and rechecked them, using the Max Planck computer in Bonn, before announcing details.

Their main findings are:

● Only one of the three spectroscopic lines of the ammonia molecule was identified. It was weak but about three times the general level of atmospheric.

● The steam line was identified with the same degree of certainty.

● The radioastronomers estimate from the overall level of radiation in the 1.3cm wavelength that the comet's core must be several kilometres in diameter.

Pinpoint accuracy

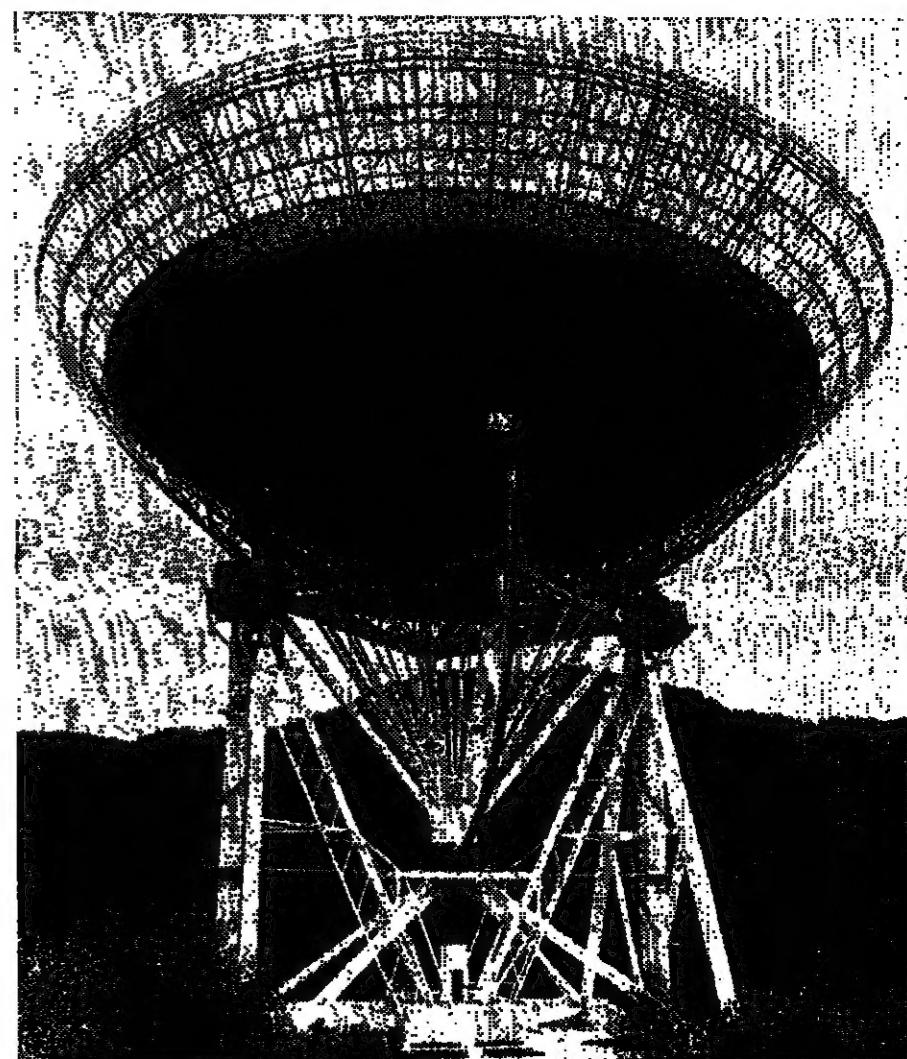
They were thus able to locate it so exactly in the sky that within this degree of accuracy its position tallied with optical estimates.

The Bonn astronomers associated with the bid were Wilhelm J. Altenhoff, Wolfgang Batrla, Walter Huchmeier, Jürgen Schmidt, Peter Stumpff and Malcolm Walmsley.

All are staff at the Max Planck Institute of Radioastronomy, and their combined comment on their findings was:

"The findings must initially be viewed with the greatest caution. Reliable conclusions cannot be reached until all other observations, made elsewhere and in other spectral sectors, have been taken into account."

Eugen Hintches (Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 3 July 1983)



It's been seeing things again... the radio-telescope near Bonn used to make the ammonia discovery (See story at left). (Photo: MPO)

Political indecision clouds the future of satellite TV

Five or six years ago when European satellite technology was still the shape of things to come there was talk of 50 to 100 TV programmes being relayed by satellite to Germany.

Believers in technological progress felt the idea spelt hope with a capital H. Pessimists were sure it would mean the eclipse of the family and danger for children.

Europe's satellite future can now be viewed much more realistically, but it is not at present an issue that is hitting the headlines.

It ought to be one now the Ariane launcher rocket has finally succeeded in putting two satellites into orbit. The transport problems of European satellites seem to have been solved.

By 1987 there will definitely be three German satellites. The first will not be strictly speaking German; it is ECS, the European Communication Satellite, the prototype of which is already in orbit.

In February 1984 the full satellite is to be launched; and Germany will be entitled to use two transponders, or channels, relayed by ECS. The transponders can be used both for telecom and TV.

It will be followed in 1985 by TV-Sat, with two TV channels and a third radio wavelength capable of relaying up to 16 digitalised programmes.

TV-Sat will be a German-made experimental satellite sent up into space without a prototype or reserve unit. For an estimated two years it will undergo trials in its pre-operational phase.

But its active life-span will be much longer. It will probably be operational until the mid-1990s. The present OTS satellite, which relays English-language programmes, looks like having a longer life-span than expected.

In 1986 or 1987 a German telecom

satellite will be launched for scientific and telecommunications use with an additional facility of at least five transponders to relay TV programmes.

So by 1987 it should be possible to relay eight extra TV programmes in German, with even more satellite capacity to link Berlin with the rest of the country.

Yet although the technical developments can be realistically assessed no one can say for sure what shape the media will take.

Political forces in the Federal Republic of Germany are largely incapable of reaching a decision. To this day a decision has not been reached on how Germany's ECS channels are to be used.

For the second satellite, TV-Sat, the Prime Ministers of the *Länder*, who hold regional responsibility for broadcasting, have agreed to make no changes to the radio set-up during the trial period.

But they are reluctant to hand over the two TV channels entirely to the existing networks, ARD and ZDF.

Even so, they have yet to go further than agree in principle that third parties, meaning commercial operators, are to be allowed an opportunity of taking part with innovative programmes of their own.

Fruitless negotiations have been in progress for months to flesh out the details.

The broadcasting corporations have suggested five minutes' more TV advertising per evening to finance the new channels with even cash left over to help underwrite private operators.

The extra five minutes should gross DM400m a year, or DM300m net.

Newspaper and magazine publishers will hear nothing of this idea because Continued on page 10

'A book must be an axe' -Franz Kafka

Many are the claims laid to Franz Kafka, the Prague-born Jewish writer in German who was born 100 years ago this summer.

He is claimed by Germans, Austrians and Czechs, by Christians, atheists and Jews, by ideologists in East and West and by all his countless interpreters (all of whom feel their views are strictly objective).

His literary output falls by the wayside, buried under a confusing deluge of secondary literature in slender volumes and bulky tomes.

Friedrich Beissner complained as long ago as in 1952 that "hardly anyone deals with Kafka as an artist," by which he meant Kafka the writer.

This comment is as valid today as Hermann Hesse's 1956 attack on Kafka interpreters.

"Kafka's tales are not treatises on religious, metaphysical or moral problems," Hesse wrote. "They are prose fiction."

"Kafka has nothing to say to us as a theologian or a philosopher but solely as a writer."

"It is not his fault that his superb poetic work has grown popular and is read by people untalented and unwilling to accept poetry."

To deal with Kafka's writing, the "monstrous world of the mind," is tantamount to never again parting company with a lifetime spent in writing, with the literary output that was his life.

Franz Kafka was born on 3 July 1883. His father was a Jewish fancy goods wholesaler in Prague. The house he was born in was on the border between the dilapidated ghetto and the Altstadt, or old city, which was a much more desirable residential area.

It was here that he grew up and spent his adult life. He went to junior school, a German boys' school on Fleischmarkt, from 1889 to 1893.

Then he went to the German Gymnasium, or senior school, on the top floor of the Kinsky Palace on the Altstädter Ring from 1893 to 1901.

From there he went to the German university in Prague, taking a degree in law in 1906. A few streets away he took up his first job, from October 1907 to July 1908, with an insurance company.

He then became a civil servant and worked near Josefsplatz for the Workmen's Accident Insurance Corporation for the Kingdom of Bohemia.

He stayed with them until he was pensioned off in 1922, by which time he had risen to *Oberschreiber*, or head of department.

Within an area of a few square miles his father Hermann, a keen businessman, tried his hand at social climbing and his sisters Elli, Vali and Ottilie were married.

It was here that his friends Paul Kisch, Oskar Pollak, Max Brod, Felix Weltsch and blind Oskar Baum lived.

Kafka went for long walks round the ghetto and the Altstadt, regularly crossing the Moldau by the Karlsbrücke to walk round the Kleinsiedle, to the castle that was (and still is) the seat of government, to the Chotekpark and the Laurenziberg.

Prague was for Kafka both fertile soil and a quagmire. It stood for loneliness and crowds, for bars and coffee houses, for the quiet of night and the noise of

the day. It was both familiar and alien at the same time.

It was part of the real outside world that Kafka both strove for and sought refuge from.

He travelled all round Bohemia, visited the North Sea and the Baltic, was in Dresden, Munich, Leipzig, Italy, Hungary and Switzerland, Vienna, Paris and, in particular, Berlin.

But Prague never lost its spell. It was, he wrote, a little old lady with claws. While sounding a note of regret he was far from dissatisfied.

His biographers have thus embarked on a quest for Kafka's Prague, for his castle (the one referred to in his novel *The Castle*).

They have identified it as this palace or that street corner or Friedland Castle in northern Bohemia.

Feeling they have found the key to his literary output they have continued to this day to equate factors that are simply not identical.

The scenes and characters in his stories and unfinished novels belong to Franz Kafka's other world, his "dreamlike inner life" that gained an independent existence in the nights he spent writing.

For this inner world the real outside world cannot be more than a foil, a backdrop at most.

Reality only attains any importance when it interferes with his writing, his "dreadful occupation that makes me so unhappy when I am unable to keep it up," either hampering it or preventing it entirely.

Nowhere can this state of affairs be traced in greater detail than in his strange inter-relationship between creative literary activity and the struggle to establish and maintain a firm relationship with a woman.

The sequence follows an unnervingly regular pattern. Once he gets to know a woman he writes scores of letters and embarks on an extremely productive literary phase that often comes to an abrupt halt after only a few months.

It does so because the emphasis has shifted and the match Kafka envisaged has imposed an increasingly heavy burden on his creativity, less externally than intellectually.

Kafka starts to break the ties but never ever clearly makes a decision. Yet he then resumes his literary work until it too comes to a halt for months or even years.

The Verdict (1912) and In the Penal Colony (1914) mark his first engagement with Felice Bauer.

In 1917, just before his second engagement, he started writing his Country Doctor tales. When he broke it off he began writing his aphorisms.

There was a similar sequence in connection with his relationship with Julie Wohryzek in 1919 and with his Czech translator, Milena Jesenska, in 1920.

The outside world, here embodied by women and elsewhere by the all-powerful father figure, makes its impact on Kafka's reality.

He reacts in the way he recorded in countless letters and diary entries by wanting to be boundlessly alone, facing no-one but himself.

"I have often thought," he writes to Felice, "the best way of life for me would be to be in the innermost room of an extensive, closed cellar with nothing but writing materials and a lamp."

"Food would be brought in to me but left as far away as possible from my own room behind the outer door of the cellar."

"The walk through the vaults in my dressing-gown to pick up my food would be my only exercise... How much I would write!"

"From what depths would I be able to retrieve it! Effortlessly! Utmost concentration requires no effort..."

In enforced and self-imposed isolation an oeuvre of breathtaking density and impressiveness takes shape. With a razor-like gaze Kafka dissects life: unerringly, warily and all.

He describes anxiety and unconnectedness, self-alienation and hardship, the anonymity of the individual and his self-destruction.

He outlines the anonymity of institutions and their all-engulfing soullessness, the quest for truth and the abandonment of self, self-confirmation and untruth.

He deals with escape and marking time, arrival without ever having got anywhere, and hopelessness as the beginning of hope.

As I write these concepts down I am well aware that I am expressing myself in a cowardly manner and in the worst tradition.

It seems impossible to talk or write about Kafka without revealing much, maybe all too much about oneself, one's way of dealing with and subjective experience of his work, one's own crying anxiety and helplessness.

It seems a case of the often despairing quest for sense in the apparently meaningless, of reading constantly recommenced and to be begun, and not ending for a lifetime.

With very few exceptions reviewers and critics have steered clear of this by reverting to the arbitrariness of grand concepts and definitions.

When Kafka died on 3 June 1924, a month before his 41st birthday, of tuberculosis at a sanatorium in Kierling, near Klosterneuburg, virtually only insiders, friends and men of letters had heard of the six slim volumes of his work published during his lifetime.

They were *Observation on Metamorphosis* (1915), *The Trial* (1916), *In the Penal Colony* (1919) and *Country Doctor* (1919) and *Metamorphosis* (1925).

His major unfinished work, *The Trial*, *The Castle* and *Am Kierling* were announced by the Bonn edition on 22 June and immediately named by the DGB, Germany's all-German trades union confederation.

The first collected edition of his works appeared in the 1930s.

This all changed dramatically the apocalyptic of World War II, Kafka's stories and novels, the German-speaking world, United States and France.

Only then did German critics begin to take notice of the man and his work. They were based on biographical, literary, existentialist, religious, cultural-critical and Marxist points.

"There is no writer in world literature, from whatever century," wrote in 1974, "who so temporarily proves to the public that the world and none other is right."

All the critics are agreed on Kafka's style, Prague German, the classics and used by Kafka's inexorable rigour he demands the parable as a literary form.

His writing is pregnant with meaning and as clear as a bell. Yet his language soon makes one feel that language alone is not enough, only extending to the line of what can still be expressed.

Kafka's language provides a sense of the suspended animation that had made it extremely difficult for migrant workers to decide to return home voluntarily.

In a letter he wrote to Ottilie at the age of 20 Kafka set out his literary, and despite his small stature, only his work measured up to his height.

That too heightens the uncertainty of his work presents, just heightens the endless pleasure in it. "I feel one ought only to read that bite and sting," Kafka wrote the book we are reading does us up like a blow on the head.

Other reading? "To make us happy, as you say, we would be happy if we had no books too, and books to be happy we could at a pinch do without."

"What we need are books that do us like a disaster that hunt for death of someone we liked ourselves."

"It must be as though we were vanishing into forests, away from human habitation, like a book must be the axe for the forest."

Ernst J. Meyer (Central-Anzeiger Bonn 1983)

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MINORITY GROUPS

Cash for migrant workers who go back home



Franz Kafka... Prague spell.

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he said. He was expecting an extra 55,000 migrant workers to take up this latest offer this year and next.

Repatriation must be permanent. Those who take advantage of the scheme will be disqualified from ever holding permanent resident permits again.

An exception may apply to Spaniards and Portuguese if their countries join the EEC and they are then entitled, after a transitional seven years or so, to live and work anywhere in the Common Market.

Repatriation will cost the Bonn government 10,000 DM per worker.

Continued on page 14

Bid to put a 'Balkan tariff' on foreigners' motor insurance

Announcing plans to penalise migrant workers by charging them higher motor insurance premiums, Hans-Jürgen Schwepke of Allianz Insurance said the present system discriminated against German motorists.

The idea of what has been dubbed a Balkan tariff is nothing new. It has been going the rounds for over four years, but legal and political aspects have dissuaded motor insurers from going ahead.

Allianz are keen to clarify matters and have applied to the insurance licensing authority in Berlin for permission to introduce special rates for foreign nationals.

For years Turks, Greeks and Yugoslavs have been involved in much more expensive motor insurance claims than German policyholders.

The Motor Insurers' Association (HUK) has figures to prove that claims by Turks insured in Germany are 50 per cent higher than the average for German motorists.

The corresponding figures for Greek and Yugoslav motorists insured in Germany are 20 per cent higher than this average.

Most drive older cars in poorer condition than the average and regularly drive long distances home, having accidents en route.

People are often injured in these car crashes, and that costs insurers dearly. Equality before the law is an accepted legal principle but has never applied in motor insurance, where third-party rates for public service employees and farmers have always been lower than those for the general public.

Rates also vary depending on whether you live in the city or the countryside, quite apart from no-claims bonuses that can cut the cost of motor insurance by up to 60 per cent.

Motorists with a bad accident record can also be penalised. They can pay up to twice the basic rate. Premiums vary from car to car, being based on hours power.

The Balkan tariff could be based on a general or individual classification, being charged at so many per cent over the basic rate or completely reassessed.

But before the Berlin watchdog authority has it say the Bonn government will doubtless be consulted.

The problem is that Bonn foresees political problems over and above general objections such as Social Democrats' disapproval of xenophobia.

One is that Bonn is bound by EEC commitments not to discriminate against Common Market nationals resident in Germany.

This commitment may afford relief to Greek motorists, but "overriding political considerations" apply to Turks and Yugoslavs.

Bonn is keen on repatriation of a number of migrant workers and their families and needs to maintain as cordial ties as possible with the governments in Ankara and Belgrade.

A dispute over insurance premiums could easily assume the proportion of a discrimination scandal and create a great deal of political ill-will.

German motor insurers are still determined to find out where they stand. They argue that German motorists have long had to pay premiums that were too high.

This state of affairs, they say, must be brought to an end. But how? The Berlin Insurance Licensing authority seems sure to consider the application for at least six months before reaching a decision.

It is legally entitled to a six-month review period and unlikely to venture an opinion before it expires.

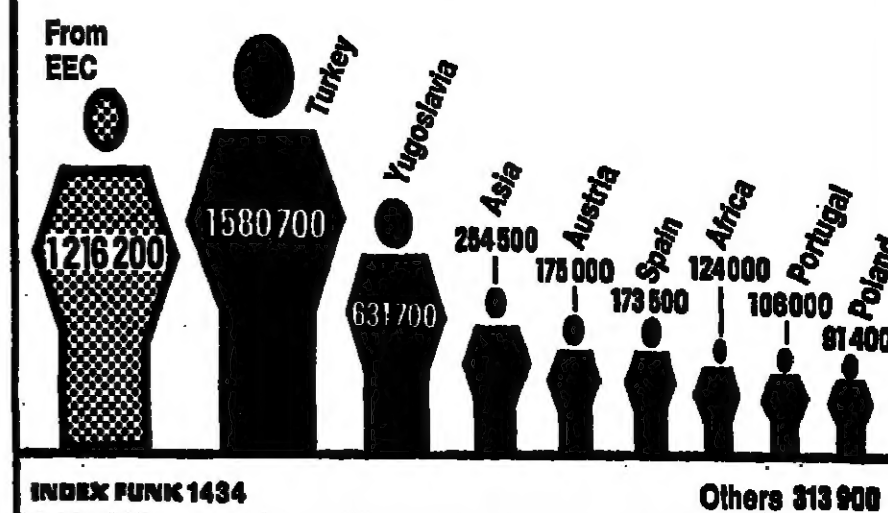
If the application is rejected on account of objections raised by the Bonn government the insurance companies plan to appeal.

In other words, if the politicians fail to state a clear case the issue will be taken to the Federal Administrative Court.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 26 June 1983)

Foreigners in the Federal Republic

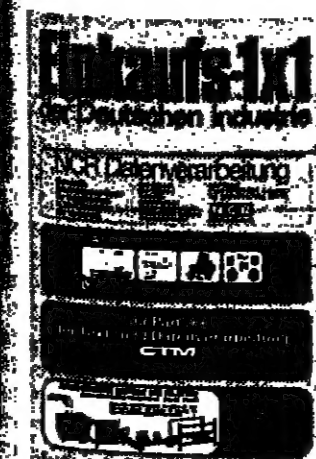
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Rape: new research stands some popular views on their head

Specialists dealing with criminals and crime widely agree that rape victims contribute to the crime in some way.

A 1976 study by Hartmann/Rindfleisch says rape is always provoked by the victim — consciously or unconsciously.

They wrote that the mere sight of a female, something about her manner of movement, dress or figure, can trigger the crime. But the victim is unaware of what is happening.

An American criminologist, Amir, wrote in 1976: "In a way, the victim is always the cause of the crime."

And in 1975 a German study maintained that there was no such thing as rape and that "women in retrospect describe a neutral situation as rape."

Crime psychologist Fischer in 1970 called for a change of attitude in favour of the raper. The raper, he said, is a pitiable victim who gets caught up in the machinations of frustrated women.

Kurt Wels disagrees with his colleagues. He says that their views although widely held, are disastrous. They are the result of analysing rapers and looking at the problem from their point of view. The victims point of view was insufficiently taken into account.

Wels points out that public opinion doesn't agree with what the experts think.

Some 69.2 per cent. of the people

Kurt Wels, *Die Vergewaltigung und ihre Opfer* (Rape and its Victims), F. Enke Verlag, Stuttgart, 252pp, DM45.

Wels interviewed in Saarbrücken think that a rapist will "try to cheapen his victim in order to justify the deed."

In May 1979, Wels and four women assistants manned a telephone at Saarbrücken University. The telephone was meant to give rape victims an opportunity anonymously to discuss their experiences.

The caller, from the city and the countryside, came from all walks of life. Most of the victims did not report the rape to the police. They felt that this would have been pointless because of the widespread belief that a woman who fights back cannot be raped.

Kurt Wels lists a number of myths and stereotype ideas about rape. Among them: that the raper is usually either sick or a stranger to his victim; that such a thing cannot happen to a "decent woman"; that men cannot stand being slighted or rejected and that rape is their revenge.

This, the author says, explains why many rape victims develop guilt complexes although they know that they did nothing to provoke the assault.

The average time lapse between the rape and the phone call was 13 years.

the shortest being one week and the longest 48 years.

Many women said that they had suffered from the event for years and, in some cases, decades.

Said one of them: "I have become inhibited for the rest of my life." She had been raped ten years earlier when she was 42.

"When I heard about the telephone on the radio this morning, I said to myself 'maybe this is your chance to talk about it with somebody,'" said a woman who had been raped 35 years earlier when she was a girl of 15.

Almost none of the women experienced the rape as a sex act. For most of them — especially the many older women — the assault was a humiliation.

Only two of the 77 callers said that they had overcome the experience relatively soon and had suffered no lasting psychological damage.

One of them, who had been raped 40 years earlier, said: "I don't think about it anymore. I'm a grandmother now and I've forgotten about it."

But many of the callers suffer from permanent fears and depression. They have withdrawn.

Twelve of the women had never discussed their experience for fear of it "becoming public knowledge."

Although the police advise women not to put up too much resistance in

order not to antagonise the police, many women said that they would not have put up with the police for not having put up with the rapist.

Many women said that one of the reasons why they would not report another rape to the police was: "They used just about as much force as I could stand against me."

This vicious circle situation applies to rape only but it is pronounced in this type of rape. Fear of rape has limited the movement for all women. And it, this also serves as an "internal social control" with which women kept at home and under control.

Christa Dörmann
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt)

Go-home pay

Continued from page 15
verment DM60m this year and DM220m in 1984. The losses in unemployment benefits and the allowance should total DM2.5bn in pension rights.

Social security pensioners stand to lose an immediate DM2.5bn in refunds but to gain between DM2.5bn in pension rights.

The trade unions are still to the entire idea. Siegfried Kerschbaum, DGB national executive, says the government's proposal is a mistake and illusory as far as foreign residents.

(Mannheimer Morgen)

MODERN LIVING

Germans reveal what they really think about sweating over a hot lathe

Germany's business community was generally pleased with the Economic Affairs Minister, Count Lambsdorff, when he said in July 1980 that workers must work harder and more efficiently.

Lambsdorff's remarks, made in a trip to the Far East, were meant to show what Germans were not doing that the Japanese were.

But might have been pleased that not all of evil had been reaped by workers and the unions equally naturally, outraged at the thought of the blame.

Then, the researchers have gone into the subject.

Opinion researcher Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, of the Allensbach market research institute, and the Berlin economist, Gerhard Strümpel, who disagree, exchanged several open letters on the subject.

Research has been funded by the Volkswagen Foundation, carried out by the Aspen Institute and based on a number of opinion samplings.

Noelle-Neumann says that the reason for the lopsided relationship between work and life is attributable first and foremost to "the people who have turned their backs on work."

Strümpel pins the blame on "work as a humanity and meaning."

He says that separates the two worlds is also shown by how opinion is interpreted.

Frau Noelle-Neumann and Strümpel used Allensbach polls to support their findings. But each used different questions.

The question around which the two revolve is essentially simple: "Would you say that your present job is as you fully, partly or not at all?"

According to Strümpel and the analysis, Allensbach polls the answers in 1969, this figure stood as high as 45 per cent. This dropped to 45 per cent in 1979 and to only 39 per cent in 1982.

Noelle-Neumann based her findings on recent polls. She finds a close link between a general enjoyment of life and less at work. She therefore posed questions differently and arrived at the following findings:

In 1973, 68 per cent of workers said that they were fully satisfied with their jobs were also satisfied with their lives in general.

Only one per cent said they were partly satisfied with their jobs. In recent polls in 1979 and 1982, these findings, says Noelle-Neumann.

Nevertheless, she, too, finds that there is a certain "identification crisis" — a deterioration of the attitude towards work and a gap between reality and ideal. She says that much of this is the "general tenor of the mass media and school textbooks."

Strümpel opposes this theory, describing it as "an unwarranted attack on the media and, what's more, a manifestation of a lack of faith in the public's common sense and judgment."

According to Strümpel, "the crisis of work force is, like most other crises, the result of the capacity to learn. The mechanism of mutual control and adaptation has broken down."

The post-war social market economy brought to the fore the virtues of industriousness, solidarity and tolerance. He describes this as "a cultural feat with which business, stockholders and old age pensioners fared well."

Today's polls show that young people are not tied so strongly to their occupation and piece of work as they once were.

The younger generation no longer considers itself closely attached to the employer. (Strong attachment in the age group above 55: 48 per cent; among the 35 to 54-year-olds: 38 per cent; and among the younger workers: 26 per cent.) It also considers itself underpaid.

The generation gap is most pronounced on the question whether a job is worth only the work that has been contractually agreed upon or whether it deserves an extra effort and "sacrifice."

Fifty-six per cent of the 18- to 24-year-olds say that they do no more than they have to. This figure drops to 36 per cent for those over 34 and to 24 per cent for people over 55.

Sixty-three per cent of the people in the latter age group say that they consider the term "sacrifice" not exaggerated in describing their attitude towards work.

Restlessness at work is particularly widespread among blue collar workers, low-level white collar workers and civil servants. Managerial staff and high-ranking civil servants along with freelancers and other self-employed have lost none of their work drive in the past 20 years.

Noelle-Neumann's explanation is that these people do not think only of themselves. This is the reason why people who give their best at work generally feel happier.

She therefore raises the question as to what educational principles and circumstances at the place of work improve performance and hence self-confidence.

In her view, there is no disputing the fact that there is a close link between self-confidence and well-being.

Recent opinion surveys show that many Germans feel that many young people founder on strict discipline.

"But it could just as well be the other way around if strict discipline is understood as education towards self-control."

People can also founder on a lack of self-control.

She points to the fact that the number of respondents in American and Japanese polls who favour a strict upbringing is much greater than in Germany. Correspondingly, those countries also have a more positive attitude towards work.

Researchers now ask themselves whether our work places leave too much to be desired. Polls show that technical changes at the place of work are generally seen in a rather positive light and that most workers feel that these changes have made their work more interesting and more comfortable.

Only unskilled and semi-skilled workers frequently complain that technology has made their work more monotonous.

This has led Strümpel to conclude that more and more people regard pay as secondary compared with the other things work has to offer, such as prestige, fulfilment, social contacts, personal development, etc.

Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, on the other hand, deplors the gradual dismantlement of the things that "help people to gather strength and develop their capabilities." According to her, there is a decline in rewards for excellence and sanctions for lack of it.

As proof, she lists the fact that 51 per cent of the respondents in a 1982 survey think that good workers earn no more than the rest.

"What do we expect? How angelic must people be who get no reward for an extra effort and suffer no disadvantages as a result of absenteeism?" she asks emphatically.

Lack of pay at work is a further indicator of the frustration that prevails today, says Noelle-Neumann.

No matter what the occupation, polls show that there is a conspicuously close link between a subjective feeling of freedom at work and well-being.

Forty-four per cent of those who have a feeling of freedom at work feel rested and full of energy on getting up in the morning, compared with 25 per cent of those who do not have this sense of freedom.

Seventy per cent of workers with a pronounced feeling of freedom say they are completely satisfied with their jobs.

as opposed to 28 per cent of those who do not feel free.

"Social policy makers must be imaginative in providing more freedom for personal decisions in all areas of life," says Noelle-Neumann.

Such a sense of freedom, she says, would also contribute to more health at work, as polls show.

More decision making scope and more part-time jobs (especially for women) rank among her top demands.

Her view of German bosses is anything but flattering. International polls conducted by the Allensbach institute shed some light on the humiliating experiences of German, Swedish, Japanese and American workers. The Germans had much more reason to complain than their opposite numbers in the other countries.

Noelle-Neumann asks: "Are German bosses that much tougher, inconsiderate and indifferent towards the feelings of their staff? Are they that much more authoritarian?"

But she does not put all the blame on German bosses, pointing to the fact that the staff they are dealing with is by and large less interested and more comfort-oriented than their opposite numbers abroad. Moreover, she says, Germans resent authority more than the others.

Strümpel disagrees. He says that Germans today are more active, more committed in matters of civil affairs and generally more satisfied with their lives than before. Only satisfaction at work lags behind.

Strümpel agrees with Noelle-Neumann that this is largely due to a lack of say at work.

But he accuses his opponent of contradiction herself on this point, saying: "One day, you praise co-determination and the scope of decision at work and the next day, when the workers take you at your word and demand more say ('Before I act on an instruction I want to be convinced that it is right'), you shush them. The way you see it, there is not enough discipline in our culture."

He counters her praise of the "sacrifice ethics of workers who always want to give of their best regardless of the pay," saying that disability figures might be less shocking if work had been "de-mythologised earlier."

He reiterates his theory that unskilled and semi-skilled workers are the most listless while freelancers show the greatest work drive. According to him, it is not such traditional values as sense of duty, industriousness and orderliness that account for the latter's attitude but the conditions under which they work.

To substantiate his theory, Strümpel cites the fact that polls show that only four per cent of Germans believe that they can make a swift career in their jobs. In the USA, 30 per cent are convinced that they can rise rapidly.

Especially where young people are concerned, Strümpel says, this could offer an explanation for their lack of enthusiasm for work.

Strümpel also points to another aspect worth pondering: economic growth in this country has lagged behind the growth rates of other Western industrial nations since 1970.

But productivity in Germany has risen more steeply than in similar countries and the number of available jobs has diminished. The question he poses is: Is work stress the reason for the disenchantment?

In any event, Strümpel concludes that we should be grateful for the diminished work drive because this could help solve unemployment at a time when growth can no longer do this.

Erika Martens
(Die Zeit, 24 June 1983)

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WORLD AFFAIRS

Plenty for Kohl to talk about in Moscow apart from missiles

Chancellor Kohl felt in Moscow that his Soviet hosts were courting his favour.

The Chancellor's spokesman announced at one stage that Herr Kohl himself had appealed to his hosts with an undertone of entreaty.

The Bonn-Moscow summit this month was the first since the Christian Democrats took over from the Social Democrats in Bonn. It was also the first since Yuri Andropov took over as Kremlin leader.

In November 1982, when world leaders flew to Moscow for Mr. Brezhnev's funeral, Chancellor Kohl was in Washington for talks with President Reagan.

Mr. Reagan deliberately chose to miss the opportunity of a meeting with the new Soviet leader.

A Reagan-Andropov meeting has become a prestige issue. It was one of Herr Kohl's political priorities in Moscow. The Chancellor told his hosts he wanted such a meeting to take place.

He felt the Soviet leader was sympathetic toward the idea.

He was certainly convinced that the General Secretary, as he persisted in calling the Soviet head of state, was in full command of his faculties even though he might be in poor health.

"He can even laugh," Herr Kohl later told associates. There could hardly be a greater compliment Helmut Kohl could pay a left-winger, regardless of the Social Democrat or Marxist-Leninist variety.

The Chancellor's Kremlin talks, held on the eve of missile modernisation, cannot have been all entertaining on balance.

Herr Kohl and his associates set out to make sure that ties with Moscow were well able to weather a hot autumn both at home and abroad.

What he had to say was that the new US missiles would be stationed in Germany unless agreement was reached in Geneva that made them unnecessary.

But the stationing of new missiles in Germany need not and must not have a negative effect on bilateral ties.

The Chancellor particularly emphasised



sised the billion-deutschmark loan to the GDR as a token of good will and of Bonn's urgent desire to keep up business as usual with its treaty partners in the East come what might.

The GDR loan, a domestic coup on the part of Chancellor Kohl and the Bavarian Premier, Franz Josef Strauss, seems in this context almost to amount to compensation to the Warsaw Pact for the wrong it feels it will be done by Nato's missile modernisation.

Will business as usual be possible once the West goes ahead with stationing the new missiles? The Bonn delegation in Moscow gained the impression that the Russians were not prepared to sacrifice bilateral progress achieved in the 1960s and 1970s to the political clash over the new medium-range missiles.

The Soviet Union would continue, it had been evident in the course of the talks, to seek new opportunities of cooperation.

Not for nothing had the Russians referred more than once to the East Bloc treaties negotiated by a Social Democrat-led Bonn government in the late-1960s and early-1970s.

Optimism for Geneva despite a build-up of Soviet warheads

SS-21s, the latest medium-range Soviet missiles, have been stationed in the GDR for some time. They are the successors to the controversial SS-20 that led to Nato's missile modernisation decision.

SS-21s in the GDR were on the agenda at a mid-July session of the Federal Security Council in Bonn.

Defence Minister Manfred Wörner mentioned them at a Press conference in Bonn. He said they were in the GDR and had heightened the military threat to Western Europe.

Herr Wörner added that the Soviet Union was busy constructing successors to the SS-21: the SS-22 and SS-23. The decision to develop the new models had been taken before Nato's December 1979 dual-track decision.

By the terms of this decision Nato resolved to go ahead with missile modernisation and station new US missiles in Western Europe if disarmament talks with the Soviet Union failed to achieve satisfactory results.

The latest information about continued Soviet missile build-ups made nonsense of any accusations levelled at Nato for its decision on missile modernisation, Herr Wörner said.

Yet he still hoped an interim result might at least be achieved at the Geneva talks by the superpowers. It would call for flexibility on the part of both sides.

Herr Wörner felt it was now up to the Soviet Union to make the next move because the United States had already made one in saying it was prepared to set aside its insistence on the zero option.

Helmut Kohl made similar mentions of the Ostpolitik treaties with Moscow, East Berlin and a number of East European countries.

At the same time his Soviet hosts made it absolutely clear that once missile modernisation had begun there could not possibly be anything resembling a state of normalcy in the West.

"It must clearly be realised," the Soviet Premier, Mr. Tikhonov, said as the talks began, "that the stationing of new missiles in the West will inevitably lead to a serious deterioration of the situation in Europe and the entire world."

In keeping with the logic of global armament there will naturally be a Soviet response to missile modernisation. "Additional measures," the Russians call it.

Yet the Russians cannot seriously believe that such gloomy forecasts might persuade today's Nato governments to call off the missile modernisation part of the December 1979 dual-track decision.

Mention was inevitably made of the political framework conditions of ties between Bonn and Moscow. As Herr Kohl pointed out in the first round of talks, they could not be viewed in isolation from East-West ties as a whole.

The Soviet leaders reiterated an assurance they had gradually grown accus-

Washington, he said, was definitely interested in reaching agreement in Geneva.

He energetically refuted allegations that the stationing of Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles as envisaged by Nato would give the West a first-strike capacity in Europe.

This was incorrect because the range and number of missiles involved was inadequate to knock out all political and military targets and centres of decision in the Soviet Union.

The Pershing 2, he said, would not even be able to reach Moscow.

He was critical of SPD disarmament expert Egon Bahr, who before travelling to Moscow had again called for British and French nuclear weapons to be included in the Geneva disarmament talks.

Herr Bahr, he said, had done the Federal Republic and the West a disservice. It was all the more remarkable that the French Communist leader, M. Marchais, had opposed in Moscow the inclusion of his country's nuclear weapons in the purview of the Geneva talks.

The SPD has condemned the US Senate's approval of construction of the controversial neutron devices, saying there is now a danger of a further turn of the screw in the arms race.

Karsten Voigt, leader of the SPD group in the Bundestag's foreign affairs committee, says he suspects the Bonn government might confidentially have given the United States the go-ahead to store neutron devices in Germany. (Handelsblatt, 15 July 1983)

HOME AFFAIRS

Strauss asked to explain loan to East Berlin

tomed to making in the days of Schmidt and Willy Brandt. They said the USSR had been of persuading the Federal Republic to pull out of Nato, the much-vaunted Bonn and Washington.

Not since Adenauer's Bonn's loyalty to Nato in America in particular been so actively emphasised by a Chancellor in Moscow.

It was not just that Herr Strauss made the point of several times between him and his majority was down to 77 per cent. He stressed that he had been an interpreter, let alone a purporting for the Chancellor's Soviet capital that in both his intensity went further than for the foreign policy of the states.

Foreign Minister Genscher, a member of the Chancellor's Moscow, flew specially to Bonn for last-minute consultations with the US Secretary of State.

Two close associates of the Chancellor's flew to Washington, one a cordial letter from the President.

The chief US delegates, Mr. Nitze, and in Madrid, Mr. Man, both came to Bonn for talks before the Chancellor's Moscow.

A senior State Department and arms expert, Mr. Dan, Bonn was even given the Chancellor's Kremlin after-dinner talk and comment on.

Was the visit a success? Tentative preparations? The tendency these days to be cautious in attempting to make statements.

The Bonn government called the summit, with its security, a success. It later non-failure of the EEC's summit as a success.

Viewed in this light the summit could also be termed a success. In more level-headed, political circles the party because he didn't want to be a coward.

Handlos, 43, has been as CSU member since 1956 and an MP in Bonn since 1972. His majority of 73.6 per cent in the Regensburg constituency is the largest in Bavaria.

He has always been a staunch supporter of the party line, which is why his resignation has come as such a surprise.

He also points to the fact that at the height of the Bad Kreuth affair that shook both CDU and CSU Strauss had long decided to give in while his team still had to praise the wisdom of breaking away from the CDU.

And recently, when the loan to the GDR had long been agreed to, Strauss held forth to a gathering of CSU MPs at the Banz Monastery with his ideas on Africa without even mentioning the latest bit of Deutschlandpolitik.

The livelihood of Handlos, who wants to keep his Bundestag seat, assured. He is the publisher of two magazines, *Schöner Bayerischer Wald* and a military affairs publication. He also owns a museum of farmhouses and the village inn that goes with them.

His letter of resignation closes with the somewhat ambiguous words: "I am sure that further political developments will bring my friends and me together again."

Strauss had the letter answered by an MP who used a surly tone. This was the reason why Handlos wrote a second letter, this time to resign.

He sought no discussion with Strauss but indeed with his district party leader, Bavaria's Environment Minister Dirk.



loan to East Berlin goes deeper than party officials admit.

This is shown by the way the party has stepped up efforts to depict the resignation of Bonn MP Franz Handlos as an isolated case and the lengths to which it has tried to emphasise the major role Strauss played over the loan.

This all indicates that there was a big information gap between the party leadership and the rank and file.

The confusion lies in the fact that Strauss is on record as stressing that concessions to the GDR must be made on a *quid pro quo* basis.

Now the party grassroots and the electorate need somehow to be convinced that this basic principle is still unchanged because the GDR has already done its part by improving its treatment of travellers at border checkpoints and by improved technical cooperation.

But there was also another reason why Strauss was interested in it being known that the loan to East Berlin, which was expressly approved by Bonn, was arranged by him in direct talks with top GDR representatives.

For a politician as sure of himself as Strauss it must be intolerable to think that there could be as much as a rumour that the loan was arranged by Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher and that he, Strauss, was simply confronted with a fait accompli.

The extensive explanations of 11 July were intended to tell the CSU and the

Madrid talks

Continued from page 1

ension of confidence-building measures in the military sector.

The first Helsinki review conference in Belgrade averted failure only by agreeing to nothing more than a further conference in Madrid.

The Madrid conference has been a success in comparison. Given the tense international situation the compromise reached is the most that can be expected at present.

Hans-Georg Glaser
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 16 July 1983)

Bavarian MP quits in anger at party's 'inconsistency'

Franz Handlos, the CSU MP at the centre of the storm, says he resigned from the party because he didn't want to be a coward.

Handlos, 43, has been as CSU member since 1956 and an MP in Bonn since 1972. His majority of 73.6 per cent in the Regensburg constituency is the largest in Bavaria.

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public that the Bavarian leader's influence in Bonn is as strong as ever.

But the Handlos affair shows that the CSU grassroots intends to judge its leader not only by his words but by his deeds as well. They want consistency.

Strauss showed some success in reconciling apparent inconsistencies just before the CSU party congress. So it is likely that he will emerge from the congress in firm control.

Even so, he has now for the first time been shown that there are limits to how far he can go.

In future, he will have to coordinate his policy better between the party rank and file, the executive committee and the CSU Bundestag group. He will also have to improve the flow of information to the grassroots.

But everybody knows that Strauss is capable of change.

Bodo Schulte
(Nordwest Zeitung, 12 July 1983)



Strauss at work

(Photos: dpa)

CSU chief causes amazement over role in credit deal

The DM1bn that the Federal Republic has made available to the German Democratic Republic through bank loans guaranteed by Bonn is having its sequel in Munich.

The loan was arranged by the Bavarian Prime Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, with a consortium of Bavarian banks.

It has now been learned that Poland's ambassador to Bonn, Tadeusz Olechowski, has visited Herr Strauss in Munich.

He is said to have offered Strauss assistance when he visits Poland shortly and to have asked whether Herr Strauss would like to talk about politics when he is there.

The involvement of Strauss in both

the loan and with the ambassador has been a source of incomprehension to many people, including CSU members.

Strauss as a champion of mercantilism in relations with the East Bloc and as the spearhead of a changing CDU/CSU Ostpolitik: too much to believe.

One who is upset is Bonn CSU MP Franz Handlos. He has resigned from the party after 27 years.

In an effort to stop speculation, Strauss explained that his role in obtaining the loan was played out in conjunction with the Bonn government. (Strauss holds no federal post).

But the doubts remain. Did Strauss start the whole thing rolling himself because he thought it would be of benefit, and then tell Bonn?

Was Bonn then reluctant to stop the deal and risk a dispute with Strauss? Or did Bonn send Strauss to arrange it?

Strauss is scheduled to visit the GDR on the way back from his scheduled visit to Poland. It now seems almost certain that he will meet the GDR leader, Erich Honecker, although the Bavarian chief still says he doesn't know anything about it.

It may be that after Strauss returned from Berlin, it will become clear what the GDR is to do in return for the loan.

This is the crux of Strauss' problem. So far he has evaded the question. But he can only retain credibility in Ostpolitik if he reveals reasons for what appears to be a change of principle. He has always said that nothing should be just given away to East Berlin.

He often accused the previous Social Democrat-Free Democrat government of not revealing all and using as an excuse the sensitive nature of the GDR.

Answers are all the more necessary now that another CSU MP, Eduard Lintner, hinted that East Berlin might get more loans.

In addition, it has not been explained why Bonn had to guarantee the loan if the GDR as Strauss says it did, actually put up collateral.

Hans Jörg Sottorf
(Handelsblatt, 13 July 1983)



Franz Handlos... highly critical.

Franz Handlos says the sentence should be read more than once. General secretary Wiesheu did exactly that and read the possibility of a new party into it.

Roswith Finkenzeller
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 July 1983)

Continued from page 1
ring. It holds forth the prospect of an arms race into barbarity, strictly for purposes of mutual deterrence, of course.

We risk being wiped out as a species if this deterrent fails to work, either by a miscalculation or a technical mishap.

The superpowers have an enormous responsibility for the survival of mankind, and so far they have not done it justice.

This is the intellectual and political background against which the peace movement all over the world is gaining stature and support.

It will certainly succeed in doing so if it manages to steer clear of political violence and communist manipulation.

Detente as a military means of keeping world peace is breaking down under the impact of progress in arms technology.

What is needed is a change in political thinking that does justice to the growing danger mankind faces.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 17 July 1983)

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GERMANY

Government reveals its plans for a new Riot Act

The Bonn cabinet has decided to tighten the laws on demonstrations. Under new proposals, which will now go to the committee stage, people will be liable to be gaoled for a year if they take part in a demonstration that the police declare is violent.

The new Riot Act proposals, unanimously approved by the Bonn Cabinet, amount to a victory for the Interior Minister, Friedrich Zimmermann of the CSU.

Principal opponent was the Justice Minister, Hans Engelhard of the FDP. He managed to win only minor concessions in the framing of the law.

However, it appears that the FDP has blocked a provision which would have made it an offence for demonstrators to mask their faces.

Herr Zimmermann can now say that he has done what he thinks is necessary before expected violent protests take place in the autumn over deployment of Nato missiles.

Now people who find themselves in a protest march that the police declare violent will have to disperse on police orders.

Failure will mean prosecution. Journalists and medical helpers will be exempt. People who can show that they tried to stop the violence will also be exempt from prosecution.

The "Liberal" justice minister seems to feel that he can live with this constitutionally most questionable compromise.

The National Federation of Judges, whose opinion the Kohl-Genscher government likes to use to back the need for a reform of Section 125 of the Criminal Code (disturbing the peace), now stiffly opposes the new bill.

Even before the dispute between Engelhard and Zimmermann was over, the Federation's judges and prosecutors warned against giving in to the Interior Minister's demand for a ban on concealment of the face to prevent identification and what the bill calls "carrying passive arms" (a flexible term that can include protective covering such as a crash helmet).

The Federation said that some serious thinking was necessary to determine whether Section 125 was in need of change at all.

Above all, the judges warned, we must beware of any departure from the legal principle that the onus of proof rests with the prosecution and not with the accused.

Under the new bill, demonstrators who fail to disperse when ordered to by the police would have to prove that they tried to stop the violence in order to avoid prosecution.

Zimmermann says that the accusation that he is violating the Constitution by reversing the onus of proof in favour of the prosecution is unfounded because anybody who three times ignores an order to disperse must expect to be treated by the police as a lawbreaker.

As simple as this might sound, it is nevertheless monstrous. Is it to be legal now for the state to treat all peaceful participants in a demonstration who fail to obey a dispersal order as criminals — only so that the state should be able to prosecute a few troublemakers?

And how constitutional is it to order the police to arrest whole sections of a demonstration in which there are only a few rabble rousers?

What is the "state" if not we, the people, with our constitutionally guaranteed right of assembly and demonstration?

We cannot ignore the Federal Court President, Professor Gerd Pfeiffer, who says that the new compromise on the demonstration law does not pay sufficient attention to weighing the individual's basic rights and the state's right to prosecute.

Professor Pfeiffer was absolutely right in drawing attention to this — regardless of what one thinks about his having aired his views on the subject in the news magazine *Der Spiegel* while the talks between Zimmermann and Engelhard were still in progress.

Under our present law, anybody who joins a public assembly or fails to leave it after being ordered by the police three times to do so is guilty of a misdemeanour. But what Zimmermann now wants to introduce (with the lamentable consent of the smaller coalition partner) would turn that person into a criminal.

Zimmermann must also tolerate being asked why he did not follow the

suggestion of the Berlin chief of police, who proposed that criminal charges should be levelled against people who carry arms or other dangerous objects. In the event of violence, this should also apply to those who are "passively armed" or masked and who ignore police orders to disperse.

But the present reversal of the onus of proof (which even has the blessing of FDP Chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher) is a sad example of the "coalition's unity and ability to act," so often quoted by Genscher.

It seems that the Liberals in particular thought that they were championing the views of the National Federation of Judges.

True, the Federation had suggested a tightening of the demonstration law in the autumn of 1981. But it withdrew the suggestion in late 1982, saying that there was no sound and feasible alternative to the existing law.

Zimmermann's inflexibility was also shown when he described the rejection of the bill by top police officers as "purely political machinations."

Despite his membership in the SPD, the chairman of the Police Union, Schröder, is credible when he warns

Proposed law not enough, says prosecutor

to the same prison would improve the efficiency of the RAF operating from prison and that therefore anybody demanding this is aiding and abetting the RAF.

Once, Justice Minister Jürgen Schmude and Interior Minister Gerhart Baum had actually contemplated removing the provisions on making propaganda for a terrorist organisation from the Criminal Code. At the time, they met with the approval of top legal experts. Those days are gone.

The review of superfluous criminal laws that had hastily been introduced during the acute terrorist threat has been struck from the agenda altogether — by both government politicians and the Federal Prosecutor's Office.

Today, they applaud when more laws to protect the state are added to the already existing jungle of legislation.

Naturally, this helps the work of law enforcement agencies — especially the Federal Prosecutor's Office.

Many a peaceful demonstrator who must fear arrest if he finds himself in a demonstration turned violent and unable to leave it in time could decide not to demonstrate at all.

And many a well-meaning citizen who in no way sympathises with the RAF but, for whatever reason, demands that the jailed terrorists' lot be eased must beware of doing this publicly by distributing pamphlets, because, this could earn him a prison sentence.

It would be naive to expect the Fed-

that the new law could lead to the arrest of innocent people.

Here, too, Zimmermann has determined to ignore senior police officers, speaking from experience, that the existing law is sufficient if fully applied.

In any event, the tightening of demonstration law is no way far from recapturing lost votes in the

Former North Rhine-Westphalia Interior Minister Burkhard Hildebrand, now a member of the Bundestag, was on the affairs committee, threw weight on the lack of consensus in the coalition.

He said he was able to work with the Interior Ministry itself, but not with the Ministers.

It is understandable that Christian Democrats now criticise Federal

President Pfeiffer for "having exercised restraint."

But those conservatives who demand that Pfeiffer resign and go into exile do not like the government's interior and legal policy definitions.

Pfeiffer the citizen has been criticised a law and we believe that the judge would have taken the same stand had there been a rent coalition in Bonn.

Norbert Handelsblum

ral Prosecutor of all people who are a more liberal criminal code. In the Federal Prosecutor's Office, the is to urge Bonn lawmakers to pass laws at the expense of civil liberties.

The demand for a ban on the face, which is still continuing, thin the coalition, falls in line with the

And the assurance that the demonstration law would not lead to arrest is flimsy. The still more mass arrests in Nuremberg look very opposite.

This line of thought puts both the Prosecutor and the Bundestag in a situation where they lose sight of the right purpose of means and ends and was already under the previous Social coalition in connection with the

duktion of computerised surveillance against terrorism.

The tightening of the demonstration law, the introduction of the ban on the face and similar measures threaten to upset the proportion of means and ends — an issue discussed among lawyers.

Interior Minister Zimmermann repeatedly said that he would not talk about the "change" in the law would practise it.

He has already delivered on this in the field of legal affairs, feebly resisted by Justice Minister Engelhard, who had promised to use his party's liberal line.

The Chief Federal Prosecutor is too willing to apply the Interior Minister's ideas in day-to-day practice.

The "change" in legal policy does not bother Rebmann at all. On the other hand, his latest press conference gave the impression that he longed for it.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 July 1983)

POLITICS

Tempers explode in council row with Hamburg Greens

The Green Alternative List has been represented in the Hamburg council for a year. The anniversary was marked by a celebration but by a council row with Thea Bock, the Moorburg councillor who represents the Alternative

There certainly has been trouble between the Social and Christian Democrats who were joined in the council by the SPD led by Thea Bock, the Moorburg councillor who represents the Alternative

There was late in the evening and the agenda was a Social Democratic motion to name a street or square in the city after Salvador Allende.

The Christian Democrats disapproved of the idea. Their speaker Gert Boyens said President Allende had paved the way in Chile for what came after

There were protests from the floor as SPD and GAL councillors. Ebermann was so

He could hardly sit still. "He's out of his mind," he said. "It won't do." He went to the rostrum and proclaimed, with the chamber in

That's what the people look like in a few weeks' time will be justified in favour of the idea. They wanted to

That's what the people look like who understand for the parliament approval that was given to emer-

And scenes of growing tumult led to the US invasion of Nicaragua. Christian Democrats walked out in

lock called out after them. While Thomas Ebermann, who was

led to order by the SPD Speaker, Peter Schulz, said he felt he was responding entirely appropriately to the

A number of SPD councillors were clearly not on the best of terms with the GAL group. Tension mounted and ha-

A Social Democratic councillor who Ebermann had insulted him shouting "You aren't worth spitting at!" and

Another SPD man was so incensed he said: "The way you are behaving is the same as what you accuse the

The two parties eventually voted in favour of naming a street or a square

There were instance of personal disrepute had been released in the form of pent-up aggression.

The curtains were raised a little for a left-wing Social Democrat

Days later, reviewing what at times had been a nightmare scene in the council chamber, Ebermann said: "It

was a terrible, a situation in which we were unable to maintain the style on which we had agreed and which we de-

A year before he told the weekly *Hamburger Rundschau*, that the GAL group in the city council had decided not to go in for excitement, grand ges-

tures, walk-outs or the like.



Thea Bock (left) and Thomas Ebermann of the Greens... Allende the catalyst for the drama.



(Photos: dpa)

sult, an absolute majority for the SPD, ruled out any further possibility of making the Social Democrats pursue left-wing policies.

Life in Hamburg was back to normal. "There has been no change in the way we work," says Thea Bock. "We work just as hard as ever. But the message doesn't get across to the same extent, which is probably due in part to the media."

The GAL group is no longer in a position to force issues, not even a nuclear-free zone for which it could enlist left-wing SPD support.

If it came to a vote on this particular issue, right-wing Social Democrats would almost certainly join with the CDU in voting down the proposal.

That may well be what will happen this autumn. So far the GAL group has tabled 150-odd motions since the New Year, but only a handful have been accepted.

The emphasis is on information. "I feel, without wanting to be unduly proud," Ebermann told the *Hamburger*

Ecologist MP hits out at his own party



Accuses the Greens of legal trickery... Wolf-Dieter Hasenclever, grass-roots democracy among the Greens.

Constant discussion about making office-holders answerable to the rank and file paralysed political activity on specific issues.

The emphasis was on structural issues, not on serious debates about eco-

logical matters. It was a mistake to believe that manifestoes were more important to the public than the individuals who breathed life into them by virtue of their qualifications, credibility and moral integrity.

Any such ideas ought to be consigned once and for all to the scrap-heap of antediluvian left-wing illusions. Yet there was a tendency not to judge assemblymen in terms of the quality of the work they put in.

Hasenclever has turned down an offer to stand "without strings" for the Lörach constituency. He does not want to leave Tübingen, his home base.

After the summer recess he will hand over as spokesman for the Greens in the state assembly to Winfried Kretschmann, from Nürtingen.

Kretschmann has been reelected without strings by his constituency party but is only prepared to stand if the state executive committee, meeting in Sigmaringen, rejects the principle of rotation.

The Greens have been fairly successful in the Stuttgart state assembly, but their future looks in jeopardy now Wolf-Dieter Hasenclever has decided not to stand again and Winfried Kretschmann and Holger Heilmann may prefer to stand down too.

Between them they held much of the credit for the Greens' success at the polls in Baden-Württemberg in 1980, which was the party's first in a large state.

Friedrich Lösch

(Mannheimer Morgen, 6 July 1983)

TRADE

Travels with Count Lambsdorff — diary of a globe-trotting minister

Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff does not travel abroad with order book and pencil at the ready. But his trips nevertheless do help promote business.

The main purpose of his talks with members of foreign governments and industry is to enlarge the scope for economic relations and to pave the way for German industry.

But the bargaining and signing of contracts is, as in any free enterprise system, up to the companies concerned.

Even large corporations like to see the minister concerned smoothing things out politically in the buyer country. But for small and medium sized companies such government promotion is indispensable, especially in remote markets.

Count Lambsdorff has travelled abroad regularly in the past few years, primarily to countries that have taken their first steps towards industrialisation or to places whose potential as trading partners has not yet been fully realised by German business.

Lambsdorff has paid several visits to the ASEAN countries, Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore.

These countries have for years ranked among the economically most dynamic regions of the Western world.

Their geographical remoteness from Germany and to some extent the traditional fixation of German exporters on the EEC countries have made it easy for Japan to gain a foothold in the ASEAN markets.

In many instances, Count Lambsdorff's visits have made exporters aware of the potential of the region and German exports there have risen 100 per cent in the past four years.

Now, Lambsdorff is venturing even further afield to open up markets for German industry.

After visiting Japan, he will visit Australia and New Zealand, countries whose economic ties with West Germany are still in their infancy but which hold great promise.

The Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry is convinced that there is plenty of scope for growth of both trade and investment.

The Minister was told that his talks in both these countries will be difficult. True, there are virtually no bilateral issues between either of them and Germany.

But they know that Germany is an important member of the European Community. Australia and New Zealand blame the EEC for many of their current economic problems.

Count Lambsdorff is likely to hear complaints about the Community's agricultural policy particularly in New Zealand.

Ever since Britain joined the EEC, New Zealand has been losing market shares in Europe, especially in the UK.

Because of its climate, New Zealand became one of the most important food producers in the Commonwealth. Britain's decision to join the EEC caused structural economic changes in New Zealand and forced changes in its export markets.

About 70 per cent of New Zealand's

exports are still farm products, especially dairy products, mutton and wool.

It has found new markets in Asia and has been successful in developing its own industry. But its economic position has been tenuous for years.

There has been no growth since the mid-1970s, and inflation is about eight per cent and rising.

The government has seen no alternative but to freeze wages and prices and curb imports — measures Count Lambsdorff considers totally ineffectual.

He is likely to suggest that helping foreign investment would provide the impetus for growth.

The Federation of German Industry regards New Zealand as suitable for joint ventures because of its high educational standard and favourable energy position.

But it is remote. Another major obstacle is the smallness of its domestic market. The country is larger in area than the Federal Republic of Germany, but it has a population of slightly more than three million.

This would not matter if a proposed common market with Australia were set up.

With its large and valuable natural resources, Australia ranks several notches above New Zealand in foreign trade.

But there, too, Count Lambsdorff is likely to find that the country considers its own problems more important than Germany's desire for an easing of investment restrictions for German firms.

Australia's economy is shrinking. Unemployment has risen to more than ten per cent and inflation has reached 12 per cent.

German industry has the impression that there is considerable interest in foreign capital, technology and sophisticated know-how. This could apply to coal mining and coal processing, where German companies already have a stake.

Even given goodwill on both sides, the geographical distance remains the main obstacle to the development of economic ties.

Distance gives Japan an advantage. It has used it so intensively in some instances that German companies have

won footholds because Australia wants to prevent Japanese monopolies.

But Japan's successes in the region will not dominate Count Lambsdorff's talks in Tokyo.

The main topic will once more be Tokyo's practice of obstructing the access of European exporters to Japanese market.

The EEC Commission has again

Bonn-Moscow economic ties — important for politics to spoil

Economic relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany are too important for either side to allow them to be affected by political or military issues.

This is why Chancellor Kohl dealt separately with economic and political issues during his visit to the Soviet Union this month.

German-Russian trade last year amounted to DM20.8bn. The Soviets had an advantage of DM2bn. Any breakdown in this profitable trade would deprive them of foreign exchange.

Latest figures show a 38 per cent rise in German sales to the Soviet Union in the first four months of this year compared with the same period last year.

German sales rose to DM3.9bn while Russian sales fell 18 per cent because of lower prices and declining demand for natural gas, crude oil and petrochemicals.

For some German companies, especially in capital goods and steel, plus a number of small and medium sized trading firms specialised in East Bloc trade, trade with the Soviet Union has become vital.

But the Soviet Union accounts for only 2.6 per cent of Germany's total foreign trade, according to OECD statistics.

These statistics also put into perspective Moscow's claim that trade with the East is important for the West's job market.

Overall OECD exports to the Soviet Bloc (73 per cent industrial goods and 27 per cent food) amounted to \$35bn in 1982 — about three per cent of total ex-

ports and much less than exports to Opec countries (\$110bn) and the World (\$180bn).

The OECD Secretariat estimates the trade with the Soviet Bloc OECD nations provides 150 000 and 200 000 jobs in the OECD.

Even in the best years of the mid-1970s the jobs created were no more than 350 000. That is 0.5 per cent of the current jobless of the OECD nations.

Trade with the West is more important to the Soviet Union depends on foreign exchange from raw materials because their industrial products do not meet international standards and can therefore compete.

The Soviet Union could cope with a restriction of imports from the West, but it made it clear that it would not accept a restriction of its exports to the West.

Despite Soviet leader Yuriyev's efforts to streamline the economy and make the Soviet industry more efficient through modernisation, the USSR has always had to put its remarkable research and development into practice.

Prime Minister Tikhonov praised the quality of German goods and the after-sales service of German companies which carried out repairs provided spares for equipment ten or 15 years earlier.

German industry service teams greatly contributed towards the solution in the Soviet Union. Sales should be ample sales opportunities for Germany between 1985 and 1990.

Kohl and Tikhonov agreed in their talks that details should be worked out at the next meeting of the Economic Affairs Commission in mid-November.

Count Lambsdorff has already indicated to the possible areas this involves: food, machinery, modernisation of Soviet factories, transport, chemicals and agriculture.

Diplomatic circles naturally think that trade most not be seen outside the overall context of political relations. But trade seems to be developing as a stabilising factor by necessitating practical concessions on both sides.

The fact that Tikhonov told Kohl he was worried about the likelihood of another Soviet trade deficit with Germany shows that the USSR does want to curb but boost its trade in raw materials.

complaints about Japan's tactics in removing trade obstacles. This time, however, Japan are pulling in the same direction against the new US import for steel.

Another objective of Count Lambsdorff's visit is to promote the Industrial Fair in Tokyo next year. After much initial hesitation, major German companies have decided to venture into the field of their products.

The main objectives are to let German business being sold official records of direct foreign trade and that German products are good as the Japanese.

Frank H. G. Stille in Stuttgart (Zentralblatt)

BUSINESS

Stock market rumours of Middle East buy-up refuted by official records

market rumour has it that Middle East countries are secretly buying into German companies. There has been talk of German business being sold official records of direct foreign trade and that German products are good as the Japanese.

Frank H. G. Stille in Stuttgart (Zentralblatt)

confirmation of the stock market rumour was apparently given by the AG chairman, Rolf Sammet, at company's annual meeting.

old shareholders that Kuwait, a major Hoechst stockholder, taken on additional holdings in the company.

Kuwait is also said to have a holding in Commerzbank. The Hongkong and Shanghai Bank in Hongkong was for some time thought to be involved in the bank's third largest.

It is known that the Hongkong bank is trying to gain a foothold in Europe. Both banks said the rumours were unfounded. As a result, stock market in- now once more think that it is

the continuous rise of Commerzbank since March and the relatively turnover of the stock are seen as a

clear indication of heavy selective buying.

Among the other major German firms suspected of having fallen prey to Middle East buyers are Bayer, Dresdner Bank, Hoechst, Linde, Siemens, Thyssen, Degussa and Deutsche Bank.

The suspected buyer is Kuwait, which caused controversy as far back as 1974 with its DM1bn purchase from the Quandt family of a 14 per cent stake in Daimler-Benz AG.

The same year, Iran bought an equity in Krupp, which triggered a heated public discussion over an impending dependence of German industry on the Opec countries.

This led to a number of defensive measures spearheaded by major German banks.

While Kuwait's stake in Daimler-Benz was arranged by Dresdner Bank, Deutsche Bank reacted differently when Iran showed an interest in buying the Friedrich Flick AG's 29 per cent stake in Mercedes. Beating the Shah to it, Deutsche Bank bought the block of shares for DM2bn.

The shares were later sold to small German investors through a newly established Mercedes holding company.

Deutsche Bank also played a major role in prompting important German corporations, among them Bayer, Man-

nesmann and BASF, to restrict their stockholders voting rights to between five and ten per cent of the capital held by them.

Has the "sellout of German industry" (a widespread catchphrase after the first oil shock), which these measures were intended to prevent, now come about after all — not openly but clandestinely and unnoticed by the public and the companies concerned?

Official records of foreign direct investments in German companies present this picture:

Apart from its stake in Krupp-Stahl, Iran has since 1978 also had a slightly more than 25 per cent stake in the holding company Fried. Krupp GmbH, Essen. In addition, Iran has a stake in the mechanical engineering and boiler-making firm Deutsche Babcock & Wilcox AG in Oberhausen.

Saudi Arabia's Dallah Est concern has an 18 per cent stake in the world's third largest maker of construction machinery, IBH in Mainz. The equity was bought last year for DM90m.

The majority stake in another construction machinery firm, the Kaelble-Gmeinder group, Backnang, has for the past two years been held by an unidentified group of Arab investors.

Kaelble-Gmeinder, makers of special purpose vehicles, locomotives and gearboxes, have a payroll of only 1,000 and are thus the exception to the rule that says that the Arabs are only interested in mammoth corporations.

Kuwait, which concentrates on sound, internationally known German corporate giants, has been particularly single-minded in its acquisitions. Its equities include, apart from Daimler and Hoechst, the Frankfurt commodities concern Metallgesellschaft AG. Here, the government and its state-owned oil company each hold ten per cent of the DM240m corporate capital.

The shiekdom also has a ten per cent stake in the VW subsidiary VW do Brasil.

Kuwait is unlikely to be pleased with its 30 per cent equity in the DM70m capital of Korf Stahl AG, Baden-Baden. Korf was drawn into the vortex of the steel industry's troubles and filed for insolvency proceedings last spring.

Stock market insiders estimate total Opec holdings in German companies at about DM8bn.

Overall foreign industrial holdings in Germany stood at DM74.7bn at the end of 1981.

Three-quarters of this is held by US, Swiss, Dutch and British investors. The Opec countries had a stake of only DM0.9bn in Germany's productive capital, the developing countries accounted for DM1.1bn and the East Bloc nations for just under DM500m.

Some DM4bn net a year was transferred to Germany in the last two years for the establishment of new companies, equities and loans to domestic companies.

According to Bundesbank statistics for 1982, the Opec countries accounted for only four per cent of this amount (just under DM160m).

There was not a single Middle East country among the ten most heavy direct investors in the Federal Republic of Germany. The list was headed by the

USA and the EEC countries which accounted for a combined 55 per cent.

The capital flow in the opposite direction was considerably larger. It amounted to DM9.8bn, almost twice the amount of foreign investments in Germany.

So the figures don't support the theory that Middle East states are taking over.

Even if the latest equity rumours are true, and if the gaps in official statistics are closed, the ratio of foreign investments in Germany would change only marginally.

But economic data say little about the true influence certain stockholders have in a company or a branch of industry. The question is: Do Arab stockholders interfere in the management of German companies?

If company spokesmen are to be believed, there has been little change even in those companies where major foreign stockholders are represented on the supervisory board (Krupp, Babcock, Metallgesellschaft and Hoechst).

But by the same token many ambitious export plans for the Middle East, prompted by the Arab involvement, have had to be shelved.

It is generally considered that Arab investors are primarily interested in a safe financial investment and secure returns. This is substantiated by the fact that most Opec countries invest their money in fixed interest securities rather than stock and that even Iran and Kuwait acquired only minority equities.

"Although far from all corporate investments in Germany earn dividends for Kuwait, that country in particular has so far fared well with its investment strategy.

As far back as two years ago, returns on capital investments replaced Kuwait's oil export earnings as the major source of revenue.

According to official data, Kuwait's foreign investments stand at DM120bn. In the USA alone, Kuwait holds equities in 480 of America's 500 largest corporations. Most of these equities are less than five per cent — the maximum investment that does not have to be made public.

More and more Germans now believe that Kuwait is also interested in entrepreneurial benefits. Stock market insiders believe Kuwait's investment in Metallgesellschaft was made in the hope of obtaining the petrochemical know-how of that company's subsidiary, Lurgi-Ingeltinggesellschaft.

The idea, stock market pundits say, is to turn Hoechst AG — which now has an assured supply of petrochemical raw materials — "into an international chemical giant under Middle Eastern steering" (Frankfurter Börsenbriefe, a stock market news sheet).

The "Kuwait fever" on German stock markets is fueled by such speculation, leading to paradoxical oddities: If the price of a stock suspected of being a Kuwait target remains stable or rises, pundits see this as a sure sign that an Arab buyer is in the offing.

But Frankfurter Tagesdienst, another stock market information sheet, told its readers that a stock's falling price points in the same direction: "The worse the business data of a corporation, the lower the price of its stock. And the cheaper the stock the more attractive it becomes to the Kuwaitis with their long-term investment strategy. What they are ultimately after is the know-how of these companies."

H. G. Stille (Die Welt, 11 July 1983)

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PERSPECTIVE

ASEAN grows up out of the dominoes that would not fall down

Ten years ago the ASEAN countries Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines, were the dominoes the Pentagon thought would be the next to go if the Communists won in Indo-China.

Now the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations are among the stabler countries politically and most promising countries economically in the Third World.

At the end of June Foreign Ministers from leading Western industrialised countries met their ASEAN counterparts in Bangkok.

The Western countries at this annual dialogue were the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and the European Community.

The EEC was represented by Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, its acting chairman.

ASEAN has emerged as a respected political force. Many economic pundits also forecast better growth prospects for the ASEAN countries in the years ahead than for any other part of the world.

Throughout the past decade of worldwide recession the ASEAN countries have maintained growth rates of which the industrialised could but dream.

They also have extensive reserves of commodities such as rubber, tin, petroleum, palm oil and timber, all of which are urgently needed in the course of an international economic recovery.

Their exports of industrial goods are on the increase too. In trade with the European Community ASEAN maintains a healthy export surplus.

Progressive industrialisation and increasing consumption in an area with a population of over 260 million are making ASEAN a market with attractive future prospects.

Its importance as an alliance has nonetheless been so far political rather than economic. Politically the five ASEAN countries are more united today than ever.

They ascribe this to the Asian art of dialogue, a complicated and protracted art in Western eyes but one that eventually arrives at consensus and agreement.

Yet it does not always do so. On specific issues of economic integration, which is an ASEAN objective, the group has made scant headway over the past 16 years, and Bangkok brought no further progress.

The conference was again overshadowed by the event that has held the centre of the stage of political debate in South-East Asia for four years: the occupation of Cambodia by Vietnam.

Shock at the Vietnamese invasion was a major reason why the ASEAN countries came closer together. Their diplomacy has succeeded in ensuring that a substantial majority at the UN votes against recognising the pro-Hanoi regime in Phnom Penh.

ASEAN insists that it would be wrong to come to terms with a country invading its neighbour and establishing a puppet regime.

The ASEAN strategy is to isolate Vietnam, but political and economic pressure have so far failed to persuade Vietnam to withdraw from Cambodia

or to allow the Khmers freedom of choice on their future.

Peace bids have ground to a halt. During the Bangkok conference the Thai Foreign Minister abandoned his useless plans to hold talks in Hanoi.

Hanoi has made it clear that in practice it will not pull out of Cambodia until the world has come to accept the situation brought about by its invasion of the country.

There must first be international recognition of the pro-Vietnamese, pro-Soviet Heng Samrin regime.

Another condition is that China must stop backing the Khmer Rouge, who in military terms are the only opponents of the present Phnom Penh regime worthy of the name.

They remain a painful legacy of Western policy on Cambodia. The way they ran Cambodia after ousting Lon Nol in 1975 has discredited them for all time.

They introduced a Stone Age communism and killed at least one million of their fellow-countrymen. Yet they are the main partner in the anti-Vietnamese Khmer coalition, with Prince Sihanouk

being no more than an internationally acceptable figurehead.

Yet the Western countries that conferred with ASEAN again practically gave the group a *carte blanche* on its Cambodia policy and an assurance of support for ASEAN initiatives.

US Secretary of State George Shultz nonetheless added that his country wanted nothing to do with the Khmer Rouge.

Australia's Labour Foreign Minister Bill Hayden was the odd man out. His government felt that the longer the Cambodia issue was stalemated and Vietnam remained isolated the more Hanoi would be driven into Moscow's arms.

That would enable the Kremlin to consolidate its position in Indo-China, he said. But Australia's intention of resuming development aid to Vietnam was strongly criticised by the ASEAN countries.

They said it was an illusion to believe that Western aid and appeasement might either separate Vietnam from the Soviet Union or weaken Hanoi's deter-

The Inter-Parliamentary Union has been going for 94 years. It once was a distinguished organisation, but that has changed.

Delegates from the 98 member-countries will meet for the 70th session of the Union in Seoul, Korea, in October.

Over three-quarters of the delegates will be no more than quasi-parliamentarians, and arguably mere pseudo-parliamentarians.

In their home countries MPs, representatives and assemblymen are not part of a system of checks and balances; they are trusted aides of a more or less authoritarian, not to say totalitarian government.

Their government tells them exactly what to do, and one of their jobs is to create the impression abroad that democratic, parliamentary standards are upheld.

So in a way it is right to accuse the Inter-Parliamentary Union of being a misnomer and to regard the expense of its conferences as a waste of money.

There is every good reason for taking a wry look at the people who take part in such gatherings, which are usually enjoyable meetings in far-off, interesting parts of the world.

The Union has lost much of its reputation. It is easy to criticise it.

Yet in its lamentable metamorphosis it has both lost and gained where its practical political purpose is concerned.

It forces members who are either completely in the dark about how representative, pluralistic democracy works or strongly opposed to the idea to pay it at least lip service.

At IPU conferences codes of behaviour are observed, undesirable viewpoints must be heard out and tolerated and, above all, human rights must be reaffirmed.

A bad impression is created whenever either the hosts or the participants depart from this practice.

Three years ago the powers that be in the German Democratic Republic let the side down when GDR newspapers

Tattered and torn, but IPU still has a function

were not allowed to mention what was discussed at the 67th IPU conference in East Berlin.

The subjects discussed and voted on included the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Every member-country, especially when it hosts an IPU gathering, believes the gap between normal parliamentary conditions and its own practices in ways such as this.

All freedoms it guarantees or refuses its citizens can in this way be measured. So the IPU promotes a process of education that is even more important today than its founders could have imagined in the 19th century.

Countries that have a lesson or two to learn are salutarily obliged to make at least a credible pretence of parliamentary style and good behaviour.

That alone is a useful effort to have to make. Efforts can be successful and even partial efforts count in the quest for virtue.

The IPU has always been weak and is now distinctly shabby, but the effect of its activities can be to give a considerable boost to parliamentary legitimacy.

Authoritarian and totalitarian states badly need more legitimacy, and they usually set great store by a gain in prestige.

That is why South Korea was so keen to host the IPU conference. Seoul wants to show its guests that complaints of breaches of human and civil rights in South Korea are no longer justified.

For a while it has certainly sought to avoid giving cause for complaint. It has also given political forces that are not in power opportunities of a say in the running of the country that gradually seems to have points in common with the parliamentary system in the West.

mination to rule over Mr Hayden went on to but although he was praised by the Vietnamese he was given were nothing new. All the Bangkok conference to confirm that headway to be made on Cambodia. Scher, who was decorated for his contribution toward IEC partnership, felt one night that the Bangkok even held.

"What would have happened if many journalists would have asked up," he asked sceptically, "for a second attempt to reach Hanoi to Bangkok?"

That is unlikely to happen. ASEAN governments and anti-Communist and pro-

outlook. They are strongly critical of the Union for lending political support to come up with the answers, and to Hanoi's expansionist policy. The massive financial aid to Vietnam to pursue these policies.

This point was plainly made by Deputy Foreign Minister K. he toured the ASEAN countries this year.

They took great exception to him for them to negotiate with Hanoi and to his connection with ASEAN and the anti-Vietnamese Khmer

Dietrich Genscher (Der Tagesspiegel)

When the IPU conference Korean politicians who have not been allowed to hold political will be permitted to mix with the

The parliamentary group is sure to meet them — by the way with the Inter-Parliamentary

That is not all the IPU can do; it also loosens up the structures that have grown up

Precisely because so many parliamentarians who attend conferences are really government states that would normally be in contact with each other can establish

This is a side-effect of gratitude for South Korea as a member and host country that maintains relations with only one

In October representatives of countries that would otherwise be sporting contacts (if that) will other will be holding political

In this way change is effected and it cannot be to the detriment of peace in the world.

It all works and is relevant shown by the determined effort taken by North Korea, with its partly ossified totalitarian regime, to host the 70th IPU conference being held in South Korea.

Pyeongyang's attempts were standable even though they were approved.

The IPU may basically do nothing, yet in the final analysis it is extraordinarily effective on behalf of behaviour and standards keeping with the principles of democratic, parliamentary, representative

It also influences political the sense of community and maybe it is still worth its salt

Ernst-Otto M... (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)

RESEARCH

The process of dividing up the Antarctic

Bonn sweltered in heat-wave temperatures of well over 30°C, diplomats and experts conferred in air-conditioned Science Centre on natural resources in the Antarctic.

Representatives of 14 countries met for a second attempt to reach agreement on the many unresolved issues of prospecting for and mining natural resources and protecting the environment.

Discussions in Wellington, New Zealand, in June 1982 and January 1983 had come up with the answers, and to Hanoi's expansionist policy. The massive financial aid to Vietnam to pursue these policies.

Two sub-groups did, however, get to work. One is dealing with environmental issues, the other, consisting of lawyers, with the indispensable definition of terminology to be in the agreements envisaged.

They took great exception to him for them to negotiate with Hanoi and to his connection with ASEAN and the anti-Vietnamese Khmer

Meaningful work cannot begin until the outlines of such concepts are agreed. But Antarctica stands for more than such laborious definition. It may stand for valuable natural resources to be mined from under the ice. It will certainly stand for maintain-

ing the living resources of the marine environment.

It is also a matter of the claims made by a number of states to slices of the Antarctic land-mass.

Fourteen states took part in the Bonn bid to allocate the proceeds and forestall clashes, but other members of the international community would dearly like to break their stranglehold on cash and activity.

Do they stand any meaningful or realistic chance? Let us first backtrack in history, but only as far as 1958, which was International Geophysical Year.

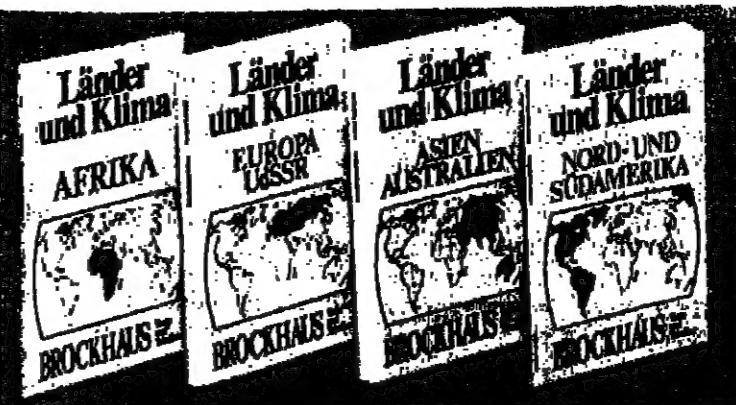
It was a year in which scientists devoted much attention to the Antarctic. So did politicians, and a year later the Antarctic Treaty was signed by a dozen countries.

They were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Great Britain, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, the Soviet Union and the United States.

They were a mixed bag, with diverging interests, and as the treaty was open to others who engaged in serious Antarctic research they were joined over the years by another 15 countries.

They, with even more widely divergent interests, were Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the two German states, Italy, the Netherlands, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Rumania, Spain and Uruguay.

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in second-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

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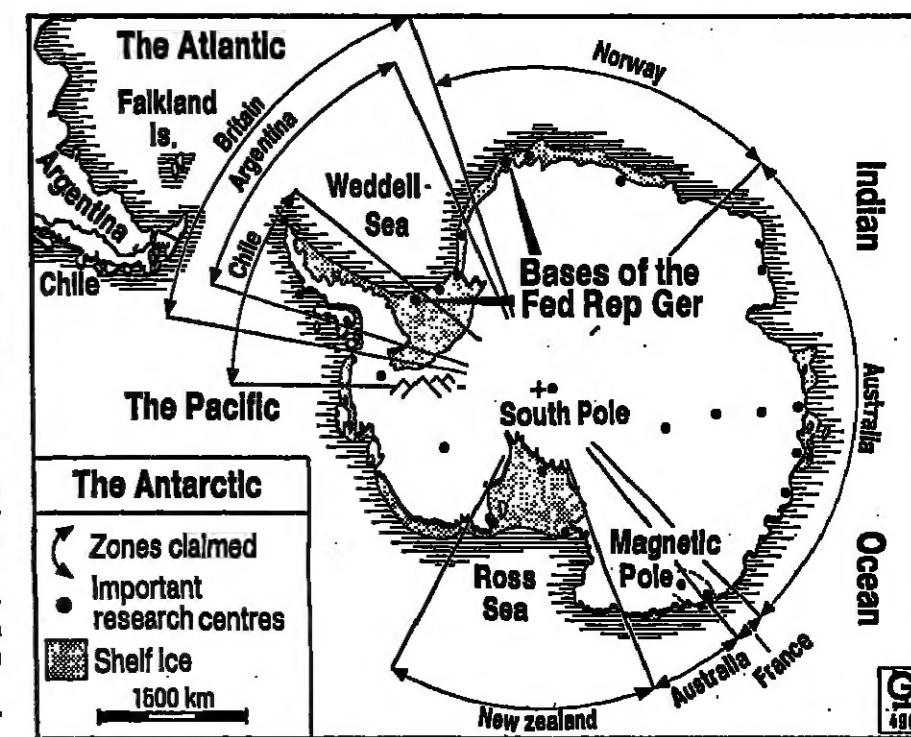
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The aim of the treaty, which Bonn signed in 1979, is to maintain the integrity of territory south of the 60th parallel.

It is to be used solely for peaceful purposes. Military activity of any kind, especially nuclear test or the dumping of radioactive waste, is prohibited.

An effective system of controls prevents breaches, including environmental pollution of the Antarctic.

The 27 differ in status as well as in interests. Seven of them, Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, Great Britain, New Zealand and Norway, lay claim to sovereignty over slices of Antarctic territory.

Article 4 of the treaty freezes the previous, unclarified situation (unclarified because claims overlap), but the countries concerned still uphold their claims.

Bonn diplomats feel the deep-freeze arrangement has proved satisfactory. During the Falklands campaign Britain steered clear of the Antarctic mainland, preferring not to "solve" an additional territorial problem by using force.

The difference in status among signatories is arguably of greater political significance. In addition to the original 12 countries Poland and the Federal Republic enjoy consultative status.

To gain this status a country has to engage in serious Antarctic research. Bonn maintains a permanent Antarctic base camp named after a German scientific pioneer in the area, Georg von Neumayer.

Germany has also contributed to Antarctic research Alfred Wegener's continental drift theory according to which the Antarctic land-mass once formed part of Africa.

On the basis of this theory the land-mass is felt to contain rich deposits of coal and iron ore, but no-one has yet proved they either exist in sufficient quantity or can be mined economically.

Over seven billion litres of petroleum are estimated to lie in wait, as are 115 billion cubic metres of natural gas and titanium, chromium, iron, copper, manganese, nickel, gold and uranium ore.

Given the uncertainties of status it is hardly surprising that treaty states have since 1959 mainly concentrated on Antarctic flora and fauna.

Initial agreements were reached in the 1960s, followed in 1980 by a treaty governing the protection of living maritime resources.

This treaty has been in force since April 1982 and, as Bonn is quick to point out, it has been signed by the European Community.

What's at stake

Representatives of 14 consultative states that are members of the Antarctic treaty have conferred in Bonn on mining natural resources from under the Antarctic ice-cap.

The land-mass, all south of the Antarctic circle, covers 21 million square kilometres, or 8.1 million square miles.

Antarctica in its entirety comprises about 53 million square kilometres, or 20.5 million square miles, including:

● 38.4m sq km (14.8m sq miles) of sea,

● 1.5m sq km (580,000 sq miles) of shelf ice,

● 700,000 sq km (270,000 sq miles) of islands

● and 12.4m sq km (4.8m sq miles) of continental land-mass.

Politically, Antarctica excluding sub-Antarctic islands is divided into sectors shared by Australia, New Zealand, Britain, France and Norway.

The 1959 Antarctic Treaty carefully avoids stipulating claims to sovereignty.

Antarctic natural resources include coal, copper, iron and manganese ore. The climate is the harshest in the world, staying below zero centigrade throughout the year.

The lowest temperature ever recorded, minus 88 centigrade, was taken in Antarctica.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 13 July 1983)

Greenpeace, the militant ecological group, feel its provisions are inadequate — or certainly would be if ground resources ever were exploited.

Antarctic conferences have yet to be confronted with the concept of its resources forming part of the common heritage of mankind, like those of the sea.

Bonn diplomats recall that the Malaysian government once broached the idea, but the present system is felt to have proved fine.

Consultative status will continue to be available to countries engaged in active research, which should soon mean India and Brazil as newcomers.

In other respects the *modus vivendi* is felt to have proved successful. The Antarctic is, after all, the world's only demilitarised and nuclear-free area.

If the number of countries associated with it were to be extended to UN proportions the East-West conflict could easily come home to roost.

Sten Martenson

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 13 July 1983)

TRANSPORT AND TECHNOLOGY

Disease threat scares shipyard workers into rejecting huge refit contract

German shipyard workers have blacked a massive ship refitting contract despite the shipbuilding slump and threats of more mass redundancies.

Workers in Bremen are worried about the risk of getting asbestosis if they go through with the project.

The ship involved is the former Atlantic Blue Riband holder, the *United States* which has been out of service for 14 years. The refit order, reputed to be worth DM250m, is said to be one of the most lucrative in the history of shipping.

But the ship is full of asbestos, enough to make the risk a lethal one, says the works council at Bremen's Vulkan yard.

Shop stewards were adamant they would sooner sign on for unemployment benefit than work on board the US luxury liner.

The firm started the action. But they were soon joined by other departments even though none of the 4,000 or so men know how long they will still be in work.

About 300 were laid off last autumn and the next wave of redundancies is expected soon. No matter how skilled they may be, shipbuilding workers in north Germany stand no chance of finding another job in the trade.

But asbestosis is incurable and in most cases death is painful.

Asbestosis is contracted by inhaling asbestos dust, and the *United States*, which was launched in America in 1952, is chock full of asbestos.

Hamburger Abendblatt called the liner an entire world of asbestos. The fibre (its Greek name means unquenchable) was sprayed on to pipes, intermediate walls and outer-steel walls, just about everywhere.

"Only the Steinway grand piano, the butcher's block and the chaplain's crucifix are still made of honest-to-goodness wood on board."

Even if most of the asbestos-clad fittings were to be removed by a US firm, as has been suggested, there would still be enough asbestos left in the ship's walls and ceilings to make working on board a lethal risk, the yard's works council says.

US multi-millionaire Richard H. Hadley, a man who made his money building hotels, plans to invest roughly \$100m, or DM250m, in a refit.

The *United States*, he says, is going to be what she used to be: the most luxurious liner there is, all 302 metres (990ft) of her.

The liner that once held the Blue Riband, for the fastest North Atlantic crossing has been in mothballs for 14 years off Norfolk, Virginia.

So \$100m may be a conservative estimate of the cost of refitting her as a playground for the rich.

The order is certainly one none of the five hard-pressed major West German shipyards could afford to ignore; it would come just in the nick of time for them all.

Early in May the Bremen yard's directors announced, much to the surprise of many, that they were definitely out of the running.

Mr Hadley had felt so uneasy at the criticism voiced by the men that he had been worried they might strike and decided to look around for another yard.

Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft (HDW) in Hamburg was an alternative. The HDW works council, unlike its opposite number in Bremen, did not rule out the idea entirely.

HDW are threatened not only with mass layoffs. The Hamburg yard may have to close down entirely.

Its works council said it would have to rule against the refit if the management failed to put all possible protective measures into practice and to reduce the health hazard to a minimum.

Burgomaster Klaus von Dohnanyi of Hamburg voiced great interest in landing the *United States* refit for the city.

The asbestos dispute is nothing new but but the Bremen workers' refusal to work on board what they dubbed the death ship has added a new dimension to the debate.

Workers face the unsatisfactory alternative of risking either unemployment or a lethal health hazard.

Demands for a ban on asbestos are fine as long as it is only a matter of asbestos sheeting that is sawn into shape by do-it-yourselfers or sold ready-made as window boxes.

Consumers have been able to ward off a number of risks by boycotting products. In 1981 the asbestos industry complained of its worst sales setback since the war.

People were just not buying the stuff, spokesmen for the industry lamented.

Shipbuilding workers don't have such an easy choice. They must either work with materials that contain asbestos or risk being accused of jeopardising their jobs.

Yet the Bremen workers are in no doubt. "You can't just die a little of asbestos," says works council chairman Fritz Bettelhäuser, who is one of many Bremen shipyard workers who may have asbestosis.

"In case of doubt all you can do is decide in favour of life and health," he feels, and most of his workmates agree that any other decision would be suicidal madness.

But it took them 10 years to come round to this view. There were cases of

workmates who contracted asbestosis and died in misery.

Victims owned up to their illness and discussed their problems in public. But the Bremen yard is still an exception in this context.

Many other works councils try to ignore the problem. It is usually asking too much of them to deal with the issue, while even the trade unions are slow to wake up to the need for strategies to ensure a general ban on the use of asbestos.

Ignorance is no excuse. It certainly doesn't stop the consequences. US cancer and health research authorities estimate there will be about 2.15 million cancer deaths due to asbestos between now and the end of the century.

A spokesman for the German Environmental Protection Office in West Berlin has put the number of asbestosis deaths in the Federal Republic at 4,000 a year.

Reinhold Konstanty, of the DGB, Germany's Düsseldorf-based trades union confederation, estimates the true figure to be at least 10,000 a year.

In the final analysis it's all speculation. Asbestosis as a cause of death can only be clearly identified by a post-mortem.

"Even if every conceivable precaution were taken (and it isn't)," the Bremen shipyard workers say, "the risk of workers who handle asbestos dying as a result cannot be ruled out."

So the choice ought not to be one between risking death or one's job but of using substitutes for asbestos that already exist "even if they are expensive."

Yet as long as this view does not prevail among the general public, and especially among the workers affected, the Bremen men realise they are going to be out there fighting on their own.

As for their Hamburg workmates' hopes of clinching the order and holding on to their jobs, they could be dashed for extraneous reasons.

Cash is the trouble. The king-sized order has yet to be safely underwritten. Mr Hadley says he can only raise

DM80m of the cost, a shipyard manager announced of April after talks in New York. He proposed to let the shipyard pay the remainder. But he was not interested, so Mr Hadley had to raise German Federal guarantees.

Shipyard managers sound enthusiastic and more sceptical. It was rumoured that the order could well turn out to be a disaster for any yard that took it.

That was probably why the yard was not unduly sorry to see Hamburg officials are now carefully to see whether the order can be financed at all.

A final decision is now not until after the summer recess.

Volker Heide
Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt

Test chamber for research under water

Operational trials have begun under water in the Geesthacht, near Hamburg. DM40m, took four years to build one of the most advanced test chambers of its kind in the world.

Once trials are over in November, the chamber will be used for experiments in the field of cooperation with industry and safety research departments.

They will test technical safety new technologies for use under water. The simulator consists of a system of gas and water analysis and purification, and computerised control.

Two more chambers are to be built for the need arise.

The largest chamber is 33m (111ft 6in) in diameter and 11.5m (37ft 9in) long. It can be filled in part with water or gas. Other pressure chambers are linked via a control panel. The chamber for use as living quarters and a rescue chamber that can be separated from the rest is also in the works.

The simulator is said to enable divers to reproduce in the laboratory conditions at sea and on land upon the bit of good fortune Submarine work and pressure testing at variable pressure, temperature, currents, salinity and water impurities.

Work such as welding, brazing, maintaining pipelines and steel structures in the off-shore sector can be tested.

Divers can be put through the conditions occurring at depths of up to 2,000m, under unmanned devices can be tested at depths of 2,200m (7,218ft).

Safety concepts were difficult to develop because there are neither international standards, nor national safety norms governing diving.

Government experts, industrialists and insurance companies are now setting up special guidelines for the industry.

They could well be adopted for deep-sea diving systems and pressure chambers.

(Nürnberg Nachrichten)

THE ARTS

Josef Albers comes back to Bottrop to stay

Josef Albers' return to Bottrop, a town in North Rhine-Westphalia, has become one of the most important

art teachers in modern America — especially in the field of design. Loyal to and curious about the new Germany, he repeatedly visited the country after the war. On several occasions, he taught at the Ulm Design Academy on which many post-war hopes were pinned in the 1950s.

Rumour has it that Albers made several unsuccessful bids after the war to donate his works to various German museums.

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Martin Luther, whose 500th birth anniversary is this year, was the subject of the 1983 Nuremberg Talks. Historians, theologians and politicians dealt with him in six seminars. There were tours of the Luther exhibition at the city's Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

LUTHER ANNIVERSARY

Ecumenical hopes at the Nuremberg Talks

This year's Nuremberg Talks left a wide range of questions unanswered. Doubts were raised, but a note of hope was also sounded.

One of the doubts was whether there was any point in holding a Luther Year and whether it was possible to strike up a living, fruitful relationship with the father of the Reformation over the centuries.

Hopes were of progress in ecumenical discussions between the Churches. They were fuelled by the convincingly expressed readiness of leading Roman Catholic participants to deal with Luther's criticism of Catholic dogma.

The third and largest platform debate was the final discussion, held in the Lorenzkirche, which on 24 June hosted the ceremony to mark the opening of the Luther exhibition in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

The 11 debaters and the chairman, Claus-Jürgen Roespeke, sat at tables arranged in a semicircle in front of the altar.

The audience, sitting in the chancel and the nave, could not see them too well because of the three Bayerischer Rundfunk outside broadcast camera crews covering the debate.

Viewers watching the programme on TV may well have found it easier to follow the proceedings.

The first speaker were politicians: Social Democrat Johannes Rau, Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, and Bonn Housing Minister Oscar Schneider, a Nuremberg man and member of the Bavarian Christian Social Union.

Herr Rau outlined Luther's motives in the simplest of terms. "The world," he said, "is in a bad way and oughtn't to stay that way."

If the Gospel was unimportant in this world and irrelevant for political activities, what good was it? If the Sermon on the Mount did not apply to the town hall, where did it apply?

This world has to do with God, he said, and God has to do with the world we live in.

Dr Schneider took a more complicated view. He praised Luther first and foremost as a pious Christian, referring to the law of God and the law of nature.

Luther, he said, had wanted neither the rule of the Church over the state nor the rule of the state over the Church.

The Church, he felt, ought mainly to concern itself with pastoral duties, although he readily admitted the importance of its welfare work.

There followed a seemingly inevitable dispute taking up over half the TV coverage of the debate on Luther's concept of the two kingdoms.

Could a politician who claimed to be a Christian lead a Christian life by Luther's yardsticks, by combining good works and the Ten Commandments?

The conclusion reached was, inevitably, that he could not.

The theologians clashed over whether Luther referred to two kingdoms or to two regimes and whether he wanted to abolish the temporal world of responsibility to God.

Helko Oberman, the Tübingen Church historian, said he had definitely intended nothing of the kind.

It was a great pity more was not said about Luther's treatise On Worldly Au-

thority, which marked the beginning of his two kingdoms theory.

A frequent drawback of such debates is that audiences are assumed to know more than they do about the background material.

"We must divide the children of Adam, or all mankind," Luther wrote in his 1523 treatise, "into two parts: those who belong to the kingdom of God and those who belong to the kingdom of this world."

"Those who belong to the kingdom of God are they who truly believe in Christ. Those who are not Christians belong to the kingdom of the world, or the Law."

"Few are true believers and fewer still behave in a Christian manner. That is why God has created for these non-Christians alongside Christianity and the kingdom of God another regimen that is subject to the sword."

If these and similar statements are any guide there is little point in trying to apply Luther's yardsticks of government and politics to the present day.

But are there not more direct approaches to Luther? Can "the rubble of centuries" be cleared away where he is concerned, Joachim Rogge wondered.

Herr Rogge, who is a Protestant Church official in the GDR, sounded a note of doubt.

Others' views varied. Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, the leading Free Democrat, felt the simple things, such as Luther's catechism and his songs, ought to be read more.

Dr Oberman referred to Luther as an individual caught between diabolical temptations and enjoyment of life.

Dr Pesch, the Roman Catholic theologian, said he had had "key experiences" in reading Luther's writings.

Three years before he died, in 1543, Luther wrote a hate-filled pamphlet entitled On the Jews and Their Lies.

He said their homes and synagogues ought to be put to the flame. Their writings should be destroyed. They themselves should be deprived of human rights.

They should be stripped of their economic base, sentenced to forced labour and finally thrown out of the country. He was all for expelling them.

Four hundred years later, in 1946, the Nazi leader Julius Streicher told the Nuremberg tribunal Luther too ought to be in the dock.

Both Luther's hatred of the Jews and Streicher's bid to justify himself have their place in German history. Neither can be overlooked.

So the organisers of the 1983 Nuremberg Talks were right to include a seminar on Luther and the Jews.

Until 1945 Luther was cited as a witness to German anti-Semitism. Since the war every attempt has been made to avoid linking his name with the persecution of the Jews.

Luther certainly didn't invent anti-Semitism. He was not a racist in his dislike of the Jews either. That was a species which first came to light in the 19th century.

But he was not impervious to the customary clichés of anti-Semitism that had taken shape in his surroundings over the centuries.

Klaus Hemmerle, the bishop of Aachen, said the Luther debate had grown "new and significant" as far as he was concerned.

But the encounter with Luther had also had painful consequences. He was unable to set aside Luther's far-reaching opposition to fundamental Catholic viewpoints.

The ecumenical debate faced a testing period. Yet the words of a Roman Catholic bishop gave rise to hopes that the Papal Church might answer Luther's criticism of its dogma.

In this respect the two Churches might be felt to have similar intentions, but hopes of Luther proving a link between the two German states can be dismissed after the Nuremberg debate.

A group headed by Heinz Zahrtm sought in vain to find points held in common, differences and contradictions in the view of Luther held in the two German states.

His anniversary is being celebrated as a major event in both, which might arguably trigger a feeling of having something in common.

But the quest made no headway because there is no official view of Luther in the Federal Republic of Germany: neither one held by the government or by more than an individual theologian or ecclesiastical historian.

East Germany initially rejected Luther but since 1980 has increasingly laid claim to him as part of its history.

"Luther's progressive heritage," one of the GDR's 15 theses announced on the eve of Luther Year reads, "is well maintained as part of the socialist German national culture."

But the GDR's official claim to Luther is not undisputed. Max Steinmetz, the Leipzig historian, felt it was fine.

Uncomfortable question of anti-Semitism

Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich, European head of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish organisation, dealt in a historical review with the ways in which envy, ill-will, anxiety and Church triumphalism in Western Christendom combined to work against the Jews.

He described the persecution of the Jews during the Crusades as the "uprising of a purportedly Christian mob against the helpless."

Yet Luther cannot be absolved merely by reference to his environment. Tübingen theologian Helko Oberman was strongly against apologetically referring to him as a child of his era.

It was also wrong to emphasise Luther as a young man, when he seemed to be well-disposed toward the Jews, and play down the older Luther who clearly hated them.

Dr Oberman was particularly opposed to the "twin coalition" theological viewpoint according to which God first allied himself with the Jews; then, in the New Testament, with the Christians.

As long as this theological viewpoint survived, with toxic effect, there would

be no basis for reconciliation and racial recognition.

Pinehas Lapide, a Jewish leader in the New Testament, was a level-headed in the way he was being God's advocate, or in the counsel for Luther.

He chose not to go in for condemnation and showed sympathy with Luther's earlier mistakes. He was both unable and unwilling to excuse Luther's 1543 treatise.

The later Luther particularly of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He was dubbed the German hero in whose name the German Jews, could be seen as the people.

Anti-Semitic, nationalist and Catholic cooks stirred up a broth of hatred, complacency and envy more.

It is a sad fact that anti-Semitism and including Streicher called were able to call on Luther in their distasteful ideas.

But for the sake of historical accuracy one proviso must, Lapide made.

Luther wanted to strip the Jews of religious, legal and material rights. He had no visions of physical annihilation. It took the 20th century to turn the Holocaust.

(Nürnberg Nachrichten)



Martin Luther... as painted Cranach in 1529.

Rolf Schneider, the East German disorganiser.

Too much attention was paid to Luther's theology, Schneider said, was beside the motorist whose car was in any way damaged.

Thomas Müntzer, a 16th-century outstanding German prophet of the Reformation period in the 19th century was being neglected.

Interest in history was only a people were growing tired of old topics. "I view the current of the GDR to Luther with a 'nothing whatever to us'."

Professor Steinmetz said search on Müntzer was still being out in the GDR even if it might not be aware of the fact.

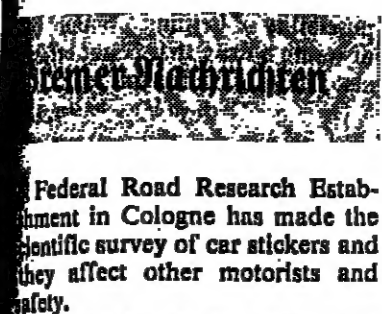
Luther Year has so far put some doubts, a little hope and great many unresolved issues.

The most open question of Luther has to play out history and whether his presence extends further than the celebrations and an impact on the motorist.

(Nürnberg Nachrichten)

BEHAVIOUR

Thinking behind the sticker lickers



Federal Road Research Establishment in Cologne has made the scientific survey of car stickers and they affect other motorists and safety.

The main finding is that stickers on controversial topics such as "mind child" or "prevent cruelty to animals" are viewed kindly by most motorists.

They can even have a positive effect on the way motorists behave in traffic. The motorist whose car is in any way damaged by stickers do not take kindly to school-children's admonitions.

Why do people plaster their cars with stickers in the first place? The main reason, the Cologne survey showed time again, was the desire to express a point of view to others.

Motorists who welcome the opportunity of being their own sandwich boards may also feel the need to draw attention to the need for greater care and attention to hazards in traffic.

One sticker fan in three also feels his car is decorative, attractive and an improvement to the appearance of his car.

Younger motorists are particularly fond of these colourful decorations. They have usually held driving licences less than three years and drive used cars.

Younger women drivers seem to be particularly fond of stickers. They may other car on the road in Germany has at least one sticker, but the who go in for large numbers of stickers are definitely in the minority.

(Nürnberg Nachrichten)

Less than one per cent of cars have more than seven, while owners of larger cars, sports cars and convertibles as a rule prefer to do without them altogether. The topics dealt with generally have nothing to do with driving. Only one sticker in four has any connection with traffic. The experts feel this may be to the detriment of road safety.

About one motorist in four who does not go in for stickers himself is annoyed by stickers proclaiming views he does not share.

Nearly one in 10 is so annoyed that he tends to be less courteous than usual to the drivers of these other cars.

Particular attention was paid to the effect of "Beginner" driving stickers. Field trials in urban Cologne indicate that beginners who own up to their inexperience are no more likely to encounter greater consideration than those who don't.

The opposite is more likely to happen. Motorists feel beginners are a potential risk and tend to overtake them more often, to prevent them from changing lanes and not to let them cut in front of their own cars as often as they otherwise might.

This discourtesy is seldom intentional. One motorist in five may suspect that drivers who claim to be beginners are trying to pull the wool over other motorists' eyes, but 82 per cent of motorists

polled said they themselves went out of their way to be helpful to beginners.

One reason for the discrepancy between alleged helpfulness and actual ruthlessness could be widespread ignorance and uncertainty about the signs and symbols used.

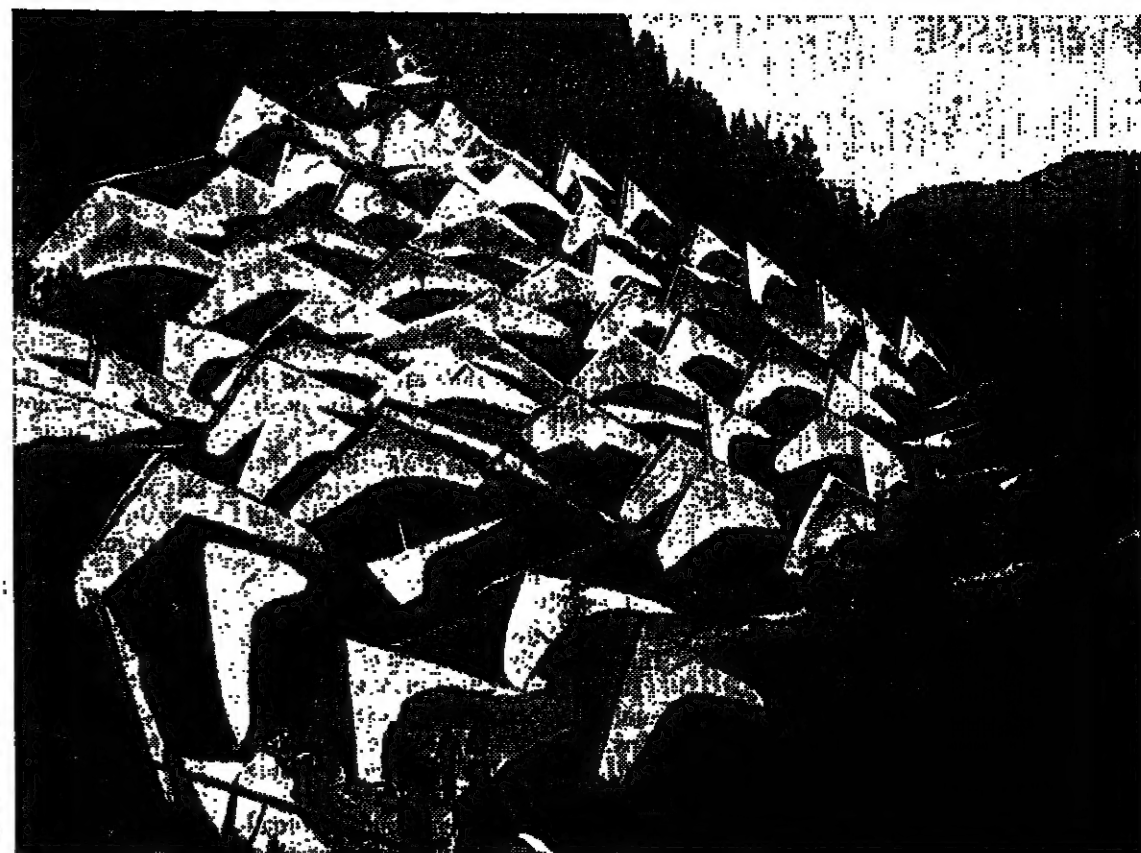
There are so many different sizes and shapes that motorists may well be confused.

One motorist in 10 had no idea what the letter L might mean.

Nearly one in three felt that the word "Beginner" (Beginner) was not always printed clearly enough. Road safety experts conclude that stickers must definitely be more clearly comprehensible and easier to read.

Many motorists admitted they often drove closer up to the car in front than they ought so as to be able to read what it said on its sticker.

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 30 June 1983)



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(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 30 June 1983)

Hang on, what's this?

Wrong! Not a picture of solar collectors for a Bavarian housing estate. Nor a collection of boy scouts tents. The boomerang-shaped objects are hang gliders. Pilots from 28 countries were this month in Tegelberg, Bavaria for the world championships. (Photo: Dieter Vogt)

The not wholly popular holy matrimony

Wedlock used to be the only way to the key of the door (a door of one's own, at least). Now many couples prefer not to run the risk.

Living in sin, as it used to be called, does not make them black sheep by today's moral standards. But many critics take a sceptical view of the idea.

Hamburg University psychologists have taken a closer look at married and unmarried couples. Christian Taddei and Johannes Röhl interviewed 135 unmarried and 178 married couples.

Arguably the most important finding was that the unmarried by no means feel they are just experimenting; they take their partnership seriously.

They claim to have to devote more care and attention to their companion when not bound by the ties of holy wedlock (or the registry office).

But the life-span of such liaisons is not spectacular. On average, the relationship lasts a mere five years.

Married couples argue that it is wrong not to wed if you are serious about the relationship. Marriages have an average life-span of 12 years, which may or may not prove the point.

The figure is only an average. A marriage may break down after a year, or it may last for 20 or 40 years.

Where children are concerned, however, the conventional viewpoint is still widespread. Eight out of 10 unmarried couples say they would get married as soon as a child was on the way.

Only 20 per cent feel matrimony is not essential even in the event of parenthood.

The two groups differ significantly in their views on sex with other partners. Continued on page 14

She's the loneliest girl in the whole of Germany

from shorthand notes they have taken themselves in dictation.

"It is all done by cassette, and the voice on the cassette is often that of someone they have never met. They might just as well be living in isolation behind bars."

It's not just from nine till five. The lifeline's rush hour starts at five when people go home from work.

"We have 42,000 single-person households in Bonn," she says. "Two-thirds are women." At home they can feel even lonelier than at work.

The lifeline staff are told to take loneliness seriously. Lonely people tend to cut themselves off from others even more until they are eventually unable to make contact with others any longer.

Alcohol is then often the only way out, while an alarmingly large number of callers contemplate suicide.

The lifeline service runs round the clock. Having someone to talk to is usually much more important than having pills to take.

Bonn has grown increasingly difficult of late for women who live on their own. "We are told more and more often that single women are no longer invited out," Frau Schiffer says.

Many callers complain that they cannot discuss the problem with workmates for fear of being dismissed as mentally unstable.

Men can feel lonely too, of course. In Bonn they are usually civil servants recently transferred to the city.

"They used to be important local government officers and are unable to come to terms with being a small cog in a big machine in Bonn. They often feel lost."

Couples can be lonely too. Ministers' wives whose husbands gallivant all over the world often lament that they couldn't feel lonelier if they were widows.

The Bonn lifeline service now runs individual and group therapy talks to help people to cope with life on their own.

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